The Outlook

FEBRUARY 17, 1915

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor

R. D. TOWNSEND, Managing Editor

CONGRESS AT A STANDSTILL

On February 10, with only nineteen days before its close, the Sixty-third Congress was at a standstill with appropriation bills involving vitally important questions of public waste or public economy unfinished. In the Senate the Ship Purchase Bill was still blocking the way, and it was semi-officially announced that the President meant to call an extra or advance session of the Sixty-fourth Congress if the Ship Purchase Bill was not passed before March 4.

The opponents of the bill resumed on Monday of last week the interrupted filibuster already described in The Outlook. For once every member of the Senate was present, and test votes indicated that if the bill were to be favorably acted upon (whether by direct passing or, as seemed more probable, by sending it back to the appropriate committee with instructions to amend and re-report it) the majority would consist of a single vote, with a strong probability that Vice-President Marshall would have to cast that vote. In the tactics of obstruction the brunt as regards physical effort was taken by Senator Jones, of Washington, who spoke for thirteen hours, by Senator McCombers, and by Senator Sherman, while forcible short speeches were made by Senators Root, O'Gorman, and others. Both the New York Senators charged the majority of the Democratic forces with voting contrary to their convictions under pressure from caucus and Administration.

Next to the Ship Purchase Bill the most interesting incident in the Senate was the introduction by Senator La Follette of a resolution asking the President to take up with other neutral nations the project of a conference to promote the coming of peace in Europe, and to consider joint action to limit armaments, prohibit the export from one country to another of arms and war supplies, nationalize the manufacture of war material (presumably meaning Government monopoly in such manufacture), establish an international tribunal whose decrees "shall be enforced by the enlightened judgment of the world"—a beautiful phrase, but apparently meaningless—and to make a federation of neutral countries for mutual protection against war incursions on neutral trade or other dangers; a large programme indeed. Whether the proposal is premature or whether it has in it a germ of promise is now open to National debate.

The prospect of any new legislation by this Congress, except that put to the front by the Administration, is now small. There are many important bills awaiting action, such as those relating to conservation, rural credits, the Philippines, and the Federal Workmen's Compensation Bill; the last has been before Congress for two years, is approved by the Labor Department, and has been favorably reported. This session is in danger of going into history as one in which Congress has talked much and done little.

CONGRESS AND THE NAVY

The House of Representatives has passed the Naval Appropriations Bill in a radically different form from that outlined as necessary by the General Board of the Navy. First pared down by the Secretary, Mr. Daniels, the recommended appropriation was further cut in committee on the score of economy. The report of the discussion before the Committee of the House and of the debate on the floor of the House of Representatives may be taken as adequate proof of the danger that arises whenever to non-technical men is left the final determination of the details of a technical subject.

Year after year the General Board of the Navy has gone before Congress with a balanced and conservative naval policy for the United States, only to have its recommendations distorted, if not wholly disregarded, by false pleas of economy and by misunderstanding of the function and importance of our

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naval establishment. How far we have departed from the original outline for a well-balanced navy put forward by the General Board in 1903 is graphically shown in a recent number of the "Scientific American." The original plan of the General Board called for the building of two capital ships each year, together with such secondary and auxiliary ships as were necessary to constitute a well-balanced fleet. This plan contemplated the ultimate creation of a fleet of 48 battle-ships. In the present year we should have, according to the General Board's estimate, 27 dreadnoughts, 127 destroyers, 34 fast scouts, 6 mine ships, and 44 submarines. We have exactly 15 dreadnoughts, 2 mine ships, 3 fast scouts of antiquated design, 63 destroyers, and 57 submarines. In auxiliary ships our navy is very badly out of balance. It is astonishing to find that one of the most needed ships of this type, a hospital ship, was stricken from the naval bill this year.

The unfortunate fact is that whenever the General Board of the Navy comes to Congress, through the Secretary of the Navy, with the recommendation for making up the deficiencies in previous appropriations, the cry is immediately started that the country is being launched upon a career of militarism. When the General Board asked for four battle-ships this year to make up for the years when but one battle-ship was built by Congress, there were many men who seemed to believe that the General Board was really demanding a regular battle-ship programme of four capital ships each year.

There does not seem much hope that we shall ever arrive at a well-balanced naval programme until the estimates for this department are brought to Congress in the form of a definite budget. Let Congress determine how much is to be spent, but let the experts of the navy determine for what this money shall be spent and on what part of the navy work economies can best be laid.

It is quite probable that, if the matter were left in the hands of our naval authorities, the cutting for economy's sake would not fall upon ships or personnel, but upon the construction and maintenance of those political navy-yards which have absorbed so much of the money of the United States. Under naval control the political considerations which forced the purchase of a coaling station in Frenchman's Bay, Maine, which forced the over-development of the Portsmouth Navy-Yard, which made it seem expedient to expend over two million dollars for a dry dock at Port Royal, South Carolina, which made it appear advisable to establish another naval station without strategic value at Charleston, South Carolina, at an expense of more than five million dollars, we suspect would have little weight. Under such conditions we should hear little of the Congressmen who are moved by the superabundant supply of their own self-generated wisdom to demand that Congress shall have constructed battle-ships carrying guns of a type never yet invented and shooting shells that are the product of little more than a heated imagination.

HOW NOT TO LEGISLATE FOR THE ARMY

The army has also suffered very much from the political log-rolling that has made it possible to build and maintain the scattered army posts which are the bane of military efficiency. Of perhaps less importance to the ultimate value of our army, but nevertheless vicious in principle, are the little "riders" which find their way into the military appropriation bills. Such a one still clings to the Military Appropriations Bill now after its second reading and reference to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. It had been previously accepted and passed by the House of Representatives. Here it is:

Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this bill shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government while making or causing to be made, with a stop-watch or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this bill be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant; and no claim for services performed by any person while violating this proviso shall be allowed.

The purpose of this provision is to defeat by indirection all attempts at introducing scientific efficiency methods in the arsenals of the United States. Probably it was directed particularly at the Watertown arsenal in Massachusetts, where considerable economies in the past have been attained through the adoption of new methods, opposed by certain

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labor leaders, though not by the workingmen directly involved. Why is it not possible for Congress to let such a proposition stand honestly or fall honestly, according to its merit?

PROBLEMS OF WAR AND COMMERCE

Closely related to the questions raised by Germany's war zone declaration were the subjects discussed in the recent address at the second annual Foreign Trade Convention at St. Louis by John Bassett Moore, Professor of International Law at Columbia University, and Counselor of the State Department during the first year of the present Administration. Among the many interesting addresses at the Convention Mr. Moore's was easily chief in general interest, not only because of its intrinsic worth at any time, but also because at the present time we are necessarily and increasingly absorbed in the principles of international law as they relate to our National well being.

The character and scope of some of the present obstacles to trade resulting from the war have been definitely determined, but the nature and extent of others are still in controversy. Taken as a whole, Mr. Moore divided those obstacles into two categories—those that proceed from the duties imposed upon neutrals, and those that proceed from the rights belonging to or asserted by belligerents.

From the Government point of view, affirmed Mr. Moore, unneutral acts may be divided into two classes, according as neutral governments are or are not obliged to prevent them. A neutral government is not permitted to commit any act that may savor of aid to a belligerent—such as the furnishing of arms or ammunition or the lending of money. But the question of what a neutral government may itself do and the question of what it is obliged to prevent its citizens from doing are two distinct things. For example, the comment is often made that it is illogical for a neutral government to forbid its citizens to build ships for a belligerent while it permits them to make and sell arms and ammunition without restriction. Mr. Moore showed that the distinction was substantial and had a historical origin.

Now as to the rights of belligerents for their own protection. The belligerent's impulse is to prevent his enemy from getting anything at all from the outside. The neutral's determination, on the other hand, is to keep his commerce unhampered by a war to which he is not a party. This struggle between belligerent and neutral has gone on for centuries. It relates chiefly to blockade, to treatment of enemy's property, and to contraband of war. The present juncture lends vivid interest to each of these subjects.

BLOCKADE AND CONTRABAND

The object of a blockade is, as Professor Moore asserts, to cut off all intercourse with the enemy as far as the blockade extends. Any attempt to break the blockade is penalized by confiscation both of ship and cargo. Professor Moore pointed out the distinction, discussed elsewhere in this issue, between an effective blockade and a "paper blockade."

The contest as to the treatment of the enemy's property was finally ended by the establishment, in 1856, of the principle that such property should not be subject to capture when borne on a neutral ship.

But this rule is subject to a great exception, that of contraband of war. If the goods are contraband, both ship and cargo may be seized. Concerning this Mr. Moore added these significant words:

> Nor does the rule that blockades must, in order to be binding, be effectively maintained, affect the question of contraband, except so far as it may tempt belligerents to strike at each other by adding to the articles embraced in that category; and it is quite possible that this temptation may be increased by the difficulties and hazards which the invention of submarines has added to attempts to maintain men-of-war on a blockading station before a hostile port.

Looking from the present into the future, Mr. Moore declares that existing arrangements can hardly be regarded as more than makeshifts. The question, in his opinion, requires for its eventual adjustment a more radical solution than any of the compromises attempted in recent years have offered. Such a solution, he believes, must be sought in the abolition of "conditional contraband," in the agreement upon a single list, and in the co-operation of neutrals and belligerents in certifying to the contents of cargoes, so that harassing searches and detentions may be checked.

In conclusion, Mr. Moore emphasized a point which should find general agreement. The phrase is often heard, "Commerce is war."

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It is a one-sided view. Commerce doubtless involves competition, but in its essence it is an exchange of benefits. It demands equality of opportunity. And war must interrupt that equal exchange of benefits as little as possible.

AMERICAN BUSINESS STATES ITS CASE

More than one thousand business men recently met in Washington to consider the ways and means of promoting American foreign and domestic commerce. Delegates to the third annual convention of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, they came from all but one State in the Union and represented the varied commercial interests of the Nation, expressing a real National spirit in a significant industrial congress.

For three days they considered, calmly and judicially, the manifold problems of the Nation's business. They deliberated on legislation affecting business, and more clearly established their facilities for thorough co-operation with all branches of the Government in matters pertaining to the country's commercial activities. Political differences were ignored. If any suggestions of politics came before the Convention, they were introduced by representatives of the Government. American business stated its case with a full consciousness of the importance of its mission to the people of the Nation and with little regard for party contentions.

In The Outlook of February 3 there appeared a review of the history, purposes, and achievements of the National Chamber of Commerce. This article emphasized the important position of the National commercial body in the life of the Nation. Ample evidence of this was adduced during the Washington Convention. Though barely three years old, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has demonstrated sufficient force to have the President of the United States come before it and ask for guidance and co-operation in the upbuilding of the Nation's commerce. President Wilson told the assembled business men that his belief in the ability of the National Chamber to help the Government expand American trade was his reason for appearing before them.

THE PRESIDENT BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The appeal of the President for the co-operation of the National commercial body was received by its members in a feeling of friendship. "Heretofore," one delegate remarked after hearing the President speak, "the Government has shown us what we could *not* do, but has failed to show us what we *could* do. It now looks as if the Government is ready to meet us half-way." The President said:

> The advantage about a Chamber of Commerce of the United States is that there is only one way to boost the United States, and that is by seeing to it that the conditions under which business is done throughout the country are the best possible conditions. There cannot be disproportion about that. If you draw your sap and your vitality from all quarters, then the more sap and vitality there is in you, the more there is in the commonwealth as a whole, and every time you lift at all you lift the whole level of manufacturing and mercantile enterprise.

The President had the good taste not to refer directly to the policies of his Administration; but this is more than can be said of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury. These officials appeared as pleaders for the indorsement by the National Chamber of Commerce of the Administration's Ship Purchase Bill, but their arguments lacked conviction and left their audience cold. "I am in favor of the Government-owned ship as an advantage to us in our foreign trade!" exclaimed Mr. Bryan. Then followed an impressive pause, which was broken by a chorus of "Noes" and "Yeses," the proportion of which may be determined by the record of subsequent events.

From the first, the Convention had indicated a decided opposition to the pending Ship Purchase Bill; and it finally registered an emphatic disapproval of the measure. This action was taken in a vote on two clauses in the report of the special Committee assigned to consider the subject. The full report of the Committee will be submitted by referendum to the membership of the National Chamber as a whole. The two clauses considered and voted down were directed against the Ship Purchase Bill and against Government ownership of private enterprise. The report of the Committee held that the Ship Purchase Bill was "wrong in principle and unwise if the result can be secured by private initiative supplemented by reasonable Government aid," and urged the appointment of a Federal Shipping Board composed of five persons of recognized ability and experience in marine transportation, this board to be appointed by the President and to be

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strictly non-partisan. "Owing to the world's shipping conditions," the Committee's report stated, "Government aid is absolutely essential to upbuild our merchant marine, and we recommend it be freely and adequately given." And in another place: "No question now confronting the Nation is so necessary to follow to a successful conclusion, none so essential to our prosperity and benefit as a commercial power, and of such importance in our ultimate relationship with the outside world, as the upbuilding of an American merchant marine fleet." The special committee of the National Chamber would have the Government incorporate a Marine Development Company with a capital of thirty million dollars subscribed by the United States, guaranteed bonds to be offered for sale to the public.

SECRETARY REDFIELD ON BUSINESS ETHICS

Assuming a different attitude from that of his colleagues in the Cabinet, the Secretary of Commerce avoided Administration policies and spoke in a spirit of devotion to the business interests of the country. He drove home a number of truths, backed by interesting data, and left no doubts in the minds of his hearers that the Department of Commerce desires to establish a real co-operation with the commercial interests of the Nation. Nothing that Secretary Redfield said was received with more interest than his reference to the need of maintaining the ethical standards of American manufacturing. He told of products being offered for sale to the Government, which, under test, proved to be not as represented by the manufacturer. We hear a good deal, he said, "of the importance of the attitude of Government toward business, but I want to say here that of equal importance is the attitude of business toward business." The Secretary of Commerce then went on to urge that the National Chamber of Commerce or its constituent organizations establish a business court to pass upon the acts of manufacturers and expose those who are found to be unethical in their representations and manufacturing principles.

Among the many other speakers whose words deserve to be written in a record of our present-day commercial development was Dr. Romulo S. Naon, Ambassador from Argentina, who, while evidencing an emphatic interest in trade relations between the United States and Argentina, spoke frankly of some of the difficulties peculiar to American methods that hinder us in our oversea commerce. Dr. Naon said that American business men appear to suffer from a lack of adaptation to foreign methods when they do business off their home ground. Dr. Naon urged the organization of a special Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce to bring the two nations into commercial harmony.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has great opportunities, and, judging from its achievements thus far, they should be few that it will fail to meet.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS

A committee of the New York Legislature has undertaken an investigation of very much more than local importance. It is attempting to find the truth concerning the workings of the Public Service Commissions in New York State. The importance of this work and the emphasis that should be placed upon it can be realized only by a comprehension of the fact that the experiment of controlling public service corporations by Governmental commissions is still on trial in this country. It was brought forward as a relief from the evils of irresponsible management and as a democratic substitute for the proposed Socialistic remedy of Government ownership of all public utilities.

In California the record of the Railroad Commission appointed by Governor Johnson was the chief factor perhaps in his triumphant re-election on a party ticket which suffered defeat and reverse almost everywhere else in the country. In New York State the Public Service Commissions, originally organized by Governor Hughes upon a non-partisan and expert basis, have become not only partisan in character, but have fallen largely under the influence of the Tammany Hall element in the party by which they are controlled.

From the time of the resignation of Governor Hughes and the retirement of Governor White until the election of Governor Whitman in the last election, the New York State Government has had a succession of Tammany men in the Executive chair. Dix, Sulzer, and Glynn have, each in his way, done their share towards destroying the value of the two great Commissions upon which so much depends.

The opportunity of restoring the New York Public Service Commissions to popular confidence and the high standard which they

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attained under Governor Hughes is one which Governor Whitman cannot afford to lose. Governor Whitman has an enviable chance to make clear his attitude towards these commissions by the reappointment of Dr. Maltbie, a Hughes appointee, and the only authoritative student of municipal problems left upon the New York City Commission.

The point of interest and importance to the country at large in this problem of the handling of Public Service Commissions is this: Has the public sufficient power and desire to keep them non-partisan in character and judicial in attitude? Under Johnson in California the answer has been Yes. Under Dix, Sulzer, and Glynn in New York the answer is No.

Too much attention cannot be given to this matter by men like Governor Whitman, who have it within their power so strongly to influence the success or failure of this experiment in governmental regulation. Mr. Whitman's attitude towards the Public Service Commissions will constitute a very important part of the record which his administration must bring before the people of his State—and possibly before the country at large.

FINAL HEARINGS ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

If Chairman Walsh of the Commission of Industrial Relations were a theatrical manager he would certainly before this have been complimented on providing an all star performance for the auditors at the hearings which he has been holding in New York City. The last of the witnesses for his Commission numbered among them Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and Mr. John D. Rockefeller.

Mr. Morgan manifested no little reluctance in expressing himself on the general topic of labor. Unlike some others who have given their opinion before the Commission, he had no universal remedy to offer for conditions over which he apparently felt that he had little in the way of direct control. Mr. Morgan believes that as a director in numerous concerns his duty lies rather towards the financial operations of the organizations in which he is interested than in the attitude of these organizations towards their laborers. The latter problem he regards as one for the executive officers in direct control of the several corporations.

Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller differed much in their attitude and manner. Mr. Rockefeller was described as appearing cold and without emotion during every minute of his testimony. Mr. Carnegie, on the other hand, seemed to delight in the opportunity for expressing himself on the question of great philanthropic foundations and the general problem of capital and labor. He recounted with evident pleasure his attitude towards the men that were in his employ, and apparently took no little pride in the fact that his partners were said to have believed that he always stood ready to "grant the demands of labor, however unreasonable." He read into the record of the proceeding a quotation from his "Gospel of Wealth," published in 1888 in the "North American Review." This article gave expression to Mr. Carnegie's opinion of the attitude with which he approached the problems of rich and poor, and of his expectation for future social development. He then said:

> The laws of accumulation will be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor; intrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it would or could have done for itself. . . .
>
> This day already dawns. Men may die without incurring the pity of their fellows, still sharers in great business enterprises from which their capital cannot be or has not been withdrawn and which is left chiefly at death for public uses, yet the day is not far distant when the man who dies leaving behind him millions of available wealth which were free for him to administer during life will pass away "unwept, unhonored, and unsung," no matter to what use he leaves the dross which he cannot take with him. Of such as these the public verdict will then be: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

AN ECHO OF THE LUDLOW STRIKE

In dramatic contrast to the appearance of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Carnegie, and Mr. Rockefeller, was the testimony of Mrs. Petrucci, whose portrait, together with that of Mr. Morgan, appears in the illustrated section of this week's Outlook. Mrs. Petrucci was brought to New York by the United Mine Workers of America to testify as to the conditions in the Colorado labor war of last summer. With her three children Mrs. Petrucci was living in the tent colony at Ludlow when it was attacked by the State militia.

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To escape their bullets she with many other women and children entered a cellar. In this cellar her three children died from suffocation, caused by the burning of the tent colony by the militia, and Mrs. Petrucci herself barely escaped a similar fate. "How old were your children?" Chairman Walsh asked her. "The oldest was four; he would have been five yesterday," Mrs. Petrucci replied, as tears filled her eyes. "The others were two and a half and six months old."

Mrs. Dominiski, another woman from the Colorado mines, gave similar testimony as to the burning of the tents by the militia. As to general labor conditions in the district in which she lived, she said:

"I never saw a church in any of the coal camps except at Trinidad. There were no halls where people might meet, but there were always plenty of saloons. We had to trade in the company's stores, although the prices of provisions were higher than in the near-by towns. But we weren't allowed to buy outside. Whenever I got a chance I did, but if I'd ever been found out my husband would have been discharged."

What will be the actual result of these hearings before the Commission it would be futile to prophesy. There is no reason, however, why an observer should be deterred from wondering whether some more definite and scientific method of investigating the complex problem of industrial relations cannot be found. No small amount of the recent testimony before the Commission was interesting—in the news sense—in inverse relation to its value as a means for securing industrial justice.

GETTING TEMPERANCE FACTS BEFORE THE PUBLIC

In our picture section this week will be found an illustration of an automobile which can be called in more ways than one a real moving-picture show. It represents the latest method which has been adopted by the Boston Committee on Poster Campaigns against alcohol for getting facts before the public they wish to reach.

Not long after the launching of the poster movement in Boston The Outlook published several posters used by this Committee with considerable success in its anti-alcohol campaign. This campaign has now been running for over a year and a half, and much has been learned from this experience in publicity work. The Committee has found that detailed posters were by no means as effective as those which taught in large headlines; they have found that statements from men not directly concerned in the anti-alcohol movement proved the most convincing evidence for "the man on the street;" they have found that in large cities it was hard to make a poster campaign effective because of the difficulty of making it prominent without large expenditure. As a result of this the educational motor car was devised to reach the man who could not be induced to enter an anti-alcohol exhibit, and who would pass by without reading even the best of "catchily" worded posters. By means of this motor car it was found possible last summer in Boston to gather a street crowd of more than five hundred at a time.

The general character of the apparatus and of the posters shown is well illustrated by the photograph we publish. The screen attached to the front of the motor car is, of course, dropped during the progress of the exhibit through the streets. When some desirable point is reached, the screen is raised, and some twenty-five telling slides are run through the stereopticon machine placed in the tonneau. Then the car moves on to other fields. In our illustration one of the educational pictures is printed upon the screen itself to show more clearly the method of exhibition.

"CHILDREN OF THE EARTH"

An "American" play is something for which theatrical managers are supposed to be upon a perennial hunt, and which paradoxically the same managers are likewise often charged with suppressing for the benefit of the imported variety and their own pockets. It is a difficult undertaking to reconcile these two popular beliefs, and perhaps the effort is not worth the making.

This conclusion is more easily accepted when a very real American play appears upon the scene, a play which is not only labeled with a "Made in America" sign, but which is truly American in spirit, character, interpretation, as well as in setting.

Miss Alice Brown, in her "Children of the Earth," has attempted a very difficult feat—the translation of New England, conscience and all, into dramatic terms. As a short story writer she has already made very valuable contributions to the literature of this much-discussed portion of America. In her new

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play now appearing at the Booth Theater in New York City she has again presented her familiar subject with a skill and effectiveness not soon to be forgotten.

"Children of the Earth" is the story of a woman who bides her time with all the patience of the New England hills—a woman whose life is a fabric of devotion to custom and authority, the just inheritance of those who lay claim to the birthright of Puritanic tradition. It is the story also of those who have gone out of New England but upon whom—shall we say it?—her long hand still heavily rests. It is the story of the foreign element, symbolized in the Portuguese wife of a New England farmer, that is creeping back from the towns into the byways of the New England hills. It is the story of the secret sentiment and passion that made New England possible and which bursts forth like a spring freshet from the tinkling ice of her frozen streams.

So much of the intangible atmosphere of her country has Miss Brown woven into this story of conflicting loves, desires, and ideals that the problem of her play is difficult to describe. Perhaps it may, however, be briefly defined as a combination of the vital tyranny of morality and the domestic tyranny of putting-out-the-cat—a phrase which may be permitted to stand for the routine of every-day life. Both of these things have a powerful influence upon the lives of almost all her characters. Furthermore, the play is fatalistic to the extent that her characters are bound to a code of thought stronger than their wills.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that the writing of it won for her a prize of ten thousand dollars offered by Mr. Winthrop Ames. Unlike most prize productions, the size of the reward won is the least claim it possesses to distinction.

THE VATICAN AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The Protestant world has been somewhat startled at the announcement that the British Government has sent an envoy to the Vatican. It has never been British policy to recognize the Papacy as a temporal power. In recent years it has seemed specially inopportune to do so. In the first place, it would have embarrassed the French Government, which had withdrawn its Ambassador from the Vatican. In the second place, it might have annoyed the Italian Government, which is supposed to have never regarded too favorably the proposal of representation from a non-Catholic Power, like England or Japan, to the Vatican.

Four of the Catholic Powers have enjoyed the privilege of sending an Ambassador to the Vatican—France, Austria, Spain, and Portugal. But France and Portugal have broken off their diplomatic relations with the Papacy. As Spain is of less account than Austria, of the two remaining ambassadors the Austrian representative apparently enjoys the most consideration of any one at the Holy See.

Next in diplomatic rank are the Ministers, and of them Germany has two, one from Bavaria and one from Prussia—both able men. Thus Germany and Austria enjoy a strong representation at the Vatican as compared with what England, France, and Russia have had. This situation has, it is contended by some, been greatly to the advantage of Germany and Austria, though Vatican policy does not indicate it.

At all events, England has now changed the situation in sending officially a special envoy to the Pope. He is Sir Henry Howard, well known in this country; the late Lady Howard was an American. Sir Henry has spent a lifetime in diplomatic service, and has gone to Rome in no recognition of the Pope's temporal power, but, first, to congratulate Benedict XV on his election to the Papacy; and at the same time, as the British Government avows, to lay before him the motives which compelled it to intervene in the present war, and especially to inform him from time to time concerning the events of the war and of the British Government's attitude towards the various questions which arise from those events. This frank statement would indicate that the period of Sir Henry Howard's mission might cover the duration of the war.

The British Government's proceeding has awakened wide interest everywhere. We shall see whether its results are commensurate with the very unusual character of Sir Henry Howard's mission.

"MISS BRADDON" AND HER NOVELS

The name "Miss Braddon" instantly recalls her most famous story, "Lady Audley's Secret," which was not only a "best seller" in its day, but is still read to some extent, and still, we are told, is occasionally seen on the stage in its dramatic form. It was written

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in a hurry to fill a magazine's need when another plan for a serial had fallen through. Like its successor, "Aurora Floyd," it was melodramatic, sentimental, and tragic.

Mary Elizabeth Braddon, who died in England on February 4, began to write fiction in 1860, and continued to publish novels until 1913—in these fifty-three years she wrote about sixty-five novels! While she always had a strong leaning toward exciting plots, many of her later books followed the modern trend of English society novels, and were as gentle and ladylike as the mildest of Mrs. Humphry Ward's stories. In private life "Miss Braddon" was Mrs. John Maxwell, and her husband was the publisher of "Lady Audley's Secret." Her son, Mr. W. B. Maxwell, now with the British army, has written several novels, which have received attention and comment from the critics. "Miss Braddon" is said to have received over $1,000,000 from her writings.

IN LENT

THE BATTLE OF LIFE

The Lenten season gains every year a wider observance, not only because many churches have always observed it, but also because Christians of every name feel the need of remembering the great experience which it commemorates. No recorded experience has been studied with greater seriousness or deeper reverence. Those to whom Christ is the Master of life and those to whom he is one among several great religious teachers are agreed that the forty days in the wilderness hold a unique place in the history of the human spirit. There have been many interpretations of the mysterious happenings in that lonely vigil, and its symbolic meaning has grown as patient and reverent thought has striven to penetrate the solitude in which the man who called himself the Son of God as well as the Son of Man went through a struggle which cleared his vision, set his will immovably to fulfill a mission of divine helpfulness, and sent him in radiant strength on the road to Calvary and to the morning of the resurrection. Henceforth there was for him perfect union with the Father; and unclouded faith in the heavenly vision kept him courageous amid the misery of the world, and tranquil and serene in the presence of death.

In that lonely struggle the one fact that stands out with tragic and splendid distinctness is that Christ was fighting for his soul. The temptations which assail men at every stage of the journey and make life a long battle met him on the very threshold and challenged him at the very start to prove his worthiness to be the redeemer of the race. He who was to save the souls of men must first save his own soul; he who was to win the battle of life for others must first win it for himself.

It was a clear and definite issue that was fought out in the wilderness; it has been fought out every day since; it is the one fundamental issue in history. It is often concealed by other and more obvious issues; there are those who deny that there is any such issue; what is called civilization seems at times to have disproved its existence until civilization suddenly gives way and men find themselves standing on the edges of appalling abysses, and realize that under the fairest landscape there sleep to-day, as there slept a thousand years ago, the forces that rend and wreck in thirty seconds the work of thirty centuries.

Time and wealth and beauty and the growth of order have changed the form of the age-old and unending battle which all men must fight to keep their souls alive. It is a beautiful world; it is crowded with absorbing interests; it is a better world than it used to be because more men and women are fighting the battle for their souls; in the future it will help them through wiser laws and more wholesome conditions to make the fight. But to the end of the world every man and woman must fight for the soul. No change in institutions and laws, no refinement of ways of living, no loveliness which art can bring to humanity, will ever win the battle once for all. Every age must fight for its soul as this age is fighting to-day, and every man and woman must pass through that struggle. It is inherent in the very nature of a stage of life which, through temptation and struggle, offers us the strength and purity which alone make God and heaven credible and real.

SELF-RAISING CHILDREN

I could never understand this talk about mothers bringing up the children. It seems to me that fathers should have something to do with it too, but, as a matter of fact, what we need is self-raising children.

This interesting view of child training is ascribed by the New York "Tribune" to

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Mr. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, who has been devotedly engaged in nursing and developing valuable testimony on labor conditions in this country. Manifestly, Mr. Walsh does not think that evidence is self-raising. Self-raising children! Good! Fine! What a lot of anxiety, self-sacrifice, and worry will thus be taken from our shoulders. We wish Mr. Walsh would devise some means of providing us with self-raising colts, self-raising lambs, self-raising pigs, and self-raising flowers and vegetables. We should like to see Mr. Walsh's self-raising vegetable garden next June. It will be a beautiful sight, no doubt. By the way, we have a somewhat considerable note to pay at the bank in about four months' time. How eagerly we wish Mr. Walsh would propound for us a theory of self-raising funds with which to meet it!

THE GERMAN DECREE

By its decree of February 4 Germany has introduced into the war elements that may gravely affect the United States. This decree, or proclamation, according to the official text transmitted to the United States Department of State, is as follows:

The waters around Great Britain, including the whole of the English Channel, are declared hereby to be included within the zone of war, and after the 18th inst. all enemy merchant vessels encountered in these waters will be destroyed, even if it may not be possible always to save their crews and passengers.

Within this war zone neutral vessels are exposed to danger, since, in view of the misuse of the neutral flags ordered by the Government of Great Britain on the 31st ult. and of the hazards of naval warfare, neutral vessels cannot always be prevented from suffering from the attacks intended for enemy ships.

The routes of navigation around the north of the Shetland Islands in the eastern part of the North Sea and in a strip thirty miles wide along the Dutch Coast are not open to the danger zone.

Until this year any armed vessel attacking without warning any merchant vessel and sending her passengers and crew to the bottom would have been regarded as a pirate. It is inconceivable that the German Government could have imagined that by the issuance of a proclamation or decree it could instantly transform an act of piracy into an act of war. We no longer believe in these days that metamorphosis can be secured by saying "Abracadabra!" Public sentiment as to what is right will remain unchanged in spite of this German decree. After February 18, as before February 4, the man, the ship, the nation, that acts the pirate must expect to be treated as a pirate. For that reason we do not believe that Germany intends to do what the plain meaning of the words of her decree might lead one to understand.

As is pointed out in Professor Stowell's article in this issue, the war vessel of a belligerent may, if he can, hold up any merchant vessel and board her, and if she finds that the merchantman belongs to the enemy, or, if a neutral vessel, is carrying contraband destined for the enemy, can seize her, put aboard her a prize crew, and send her to one of the war-ship's home ports to be held for condemnation by a prize court; and if the merchantman belongs to the enemy country, the war-ship seizing her may, under the plea of exigency, take off the passengers and the crew and sink her. This has been done time and time again in every naval war of any consequence, and repeatedly by both the British and the Germans in this war. It cannot, therefore, be that the German proclamation of February 4 is a warning that Germany intends to follow this practice, for she has already followed it and is justified in following it. If by this means she can isolate Great Britain, driving British shipping from the seas, she is entirely justified in doing so. If she can do it with submarines, she is just as much justified as she has been in undertaking to do it by cruisers. If a German submarine can stop a British merchantman, take off her passengers and crew, and then send a torpedo into her, she is by all the rules of war entitled to do so, and no one can complain. But this is not what she threatens to do. That is made perfectly clear by her warning to neutral vessels. There is only one way by which a neutral vessel can be mistaken for an enemy vessel, and that is by mistaking her appearance. If a vessel is once boarded and searched, there can be no possibility of mistake. When, therefore, Germany officially says that "all enemy merchant vessels encountered in these waters will be destroyed," and that "neutral vessels cannot always be prevented from suffering from the attacks intended for enemy ships," it is evident that Germany intends this decree to be understood as a notification that her war-ships are going to attack merchantmen without warn-

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ing and without assistance to non-combatant passengers and crews.

The question then remains, Why is it that Germany wishes to be understood as intending to do something which it is incredible she really intends? There are several conceivable explanations.

One is that Germany recognizes the limitations of the submarine as a commerce destroyer under the recognized rules of warfare. The ordinary war-ship is equipped with small boats and has plenty of room on deck and between decks, and therefore can convey the passengers and crew of a seized merchantman to herself without difficulty in ordinary weather; but a submarine has no small boats and has room aboard her scarcely enough for her own crew. She cannot, therefore, sink any enemy merchantman without either drowning those on board or sending them adrift in their own small boats. The usual method of warning the merchantman is to fire a shot across her bow. The ordinary submarine cannot do this, as she carries no guns. Furthermore, the ordinary war vessel has speed enough to get within range of the ordinary merchantman. The submarine, on the other hand, is a slow-moving vessel even on the surface, and slower still under water, and therefore cannot easily overhaul the ordinary merchantman. The only recourse the submarine has, in ordinary cases, is therefore to send a torpedo as a warning, which, besides being very expensive, is a very risky proceeding under any circumstances, and especially risky if it is uncertain whether the merchantman is a neutral or an enemy ship. We cannot believe that Germany imagines that even this limitation on the instruments of naval war she is using is a sufficient explanation of her decree, or would be accepted as such by a neutral country. A simple illustration will serve to show this. Suppose the American liner St. Louis on its way to a British port were suddenly to be lifted by an explosion of a torpedo beneath her water line, and should sink with all or most of those on board, and it were reasonably sure that the cause of the disaster was an attack by a German submarine, would the people of the United States listen for an instant to explanations by Germany regarding the limitations of submarine warfare? Would apology, or the offer of a sum of money, or even the suggestion of arbitration be received by the American people with equanimity?

It makes one quite sure that Germany has no thought of offering the limitations of the submarine as an excuse for her decree when a possibility of that sort is imagined. The final straw that broke down the resistance to war with Spain was an event of even less significance than that would be—the destruction of the Maine. People of the United States, roused by the heartless treatment of the Cubans, might have gone to war anyway, but they actually did not go to war until their indignation was set afire by the loss of that American battle-ship. America is in no mood now to go to war, but American opinions and feelings have certainly been aroused by the wrong inflicted, in violation of international law, on Belgium. If another wrong in violation of international law should be suffered by America herself, it would not need a rash man to predict the consequences. Germany knows this, and therefore Germany cannot pretend to plead as an excuse the limitations of the submarine.

Another explanation is that Germany intends to intimidate neutral nations from using, as conveyers of neutral passengers and neutral goods, British vessels. This is not, to our minds, an excuse which Germany will offer with any expectation of its being received. If the Lusitania, flying an American flag, not as a disguise (for nothing can disguise the Lusitania), but as an indication that British merchantmen will fly neutral flags as a stratagem of war and will use the American flag as an indication of Americans on board, had been sunk and had gone down with the daughter of the American Secretary of the Treasury as one of scores of American victims of a German torpedo attack without warning, would American public opinion accept with equanimity the explanation that Germany had declared its intention of attacking British merchantmen without its being possible "always to save their crews and passengers"? No; Germany is not going to give that reason for her decree.

Still another explanation is that Germany intends to discourage neutral vessels from engaging in commerce with England because, since England may use neutral flags to disguise her own merchantmen, neutral merchantmen may be mistaken for English ships. Of course Germany cannot think that this explanation will hold; for no neutral nation is going to suffer without protest from an act of piracy even if that act is directed against a belligerent. Moreover, Greece's official comment upon this decree is one which Germany

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knows every neutral will support—namely, that she is not ready to suffer at the hands of Germany because Great Britain may use the Greek flag, that she will not agree to be held responsible for the acts of another nation. So that explanation may be dismissed.

There is still another explanation that has been suggested for this decree of Germany's. It is that by this decree Germany expects to intimidate Great Britain, to discourage her, to frighten British ship-owners from intrusting their vessels to the sea, to cause panic in the hearts of the British people and paralyze their nerves, to break down in the minds of the British people that sense of security in their island Kingdom which has been a source of confidence and strength. We cannot credit Germany with the unintelligence of holding such a view as that. Whatever the faults of the British people may be—and, like every other people, the defects of their qualities are not to be questioned—no one can accuse them of being naturally faint-hearted or nervously highstrung. On the contrary, the British are apt to be phlegmatic to a fault. Too many of them have not taken the war seriously even yet. Others who have taken it seriously have found no reason for turning one hair's-breadth from their customary routine. Particularly to a seafaring people, whose population has for generations been seasoned with old salts, such threats as are contained in this German declaration must sound idle. The perils of the sea are familiar to English folk, and such peril as can be added by the presence in British waters of a few German submarines cannot seriously affect the English state of mind. Even if Germany once had the expectation that she could terrorize the English people and drive them to a panic that would affect their military morale, she must have been by this time disabused of the idea. The German raid upon Scarborough, Whitby, and Hartlepool, which some Germans seemed to expect would result in England's keeping some of her forces at home and drawing English war-vessels from their duty of guardianship over the German fleet, had quite the opposite effect, as every one acquainted with English characteristics knew that it would have. It aroused in the lethargic bosoms of many middle-class English people a new and healthy interest in the war. So with the air raids upon Yarmouth and Sandringham, these efforts of Germany to bring war home to England have, by stimulating recruiting, been of unquestioned service to Lord Kitchener. And if Germany's submarine activity should by any chance hasten the rise in the price of foodstuffs in Great Britain, it would probably do more to intensify English determination than any number of bombs that are likely to be dropped from Zeppelins upon English soil, or any number of shells that may land on the English coast from German cruisers. The German leaders in this war must know this. Limited as their acquaintance with the temper of other nations seems to have been, it must certainly have been extended by the events that have occurred since hostilities began. By this time they must know that no such declaration as this of February 4 can create panic in England. That explanation must be dismissed if we are to credit the German leaders with intelligence.

The one credible explanation of this decree, as well as of the sea raid on Scarborough and the air raid on Yarmouth, is that it was devised to cheer German hearts.

Fighting in the trenches in winter-time is dreary business. It is still drearier business to be living at home and waiting for news from those trenches. And the dreary business is dreariest of all when it comes after the dashing down of high hopes. No people in the world is more profoundly controlled by sentiment than the Germans. That is one of the secrets of what they have written on the pages of musical literature. That is one explanation of the nature of their poetry. That is one reason for the special contributions they have made to American life. That is one cause of the intensity with which those who have had intimate acquaintance with Germany and have felt her influence in their lives defend her in this crisis. It is sentiment that drove her into this war—a sentiment of hurt pride, of suspicion of other peoples, of lonely isolation. It is sentiment that leads Germans to extol the Fatherland in terms that quite disregard the sensibilities of those whom they address. It is sentiment that made them such a power as they rushed across the border of Belgium and on towards Paris. And now, after that great repulse, which their sentiment would not allow them to foresee or consider possible, it is sentiment that must sustain them.

In the hard and straining warfare of the trenches there is not much to inspire sentiment. But in learning that the Emden kept afloat for months and defied British sea power to the destruction of many British merchantmen, there was much to inspire sen-

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timent. In the knowledge that at last the Emden went down in a manner that brought that ship more glory than it brought to the victors, there was more in which sentiment could find inspiration. But an Emden is not at hand every day with whose exploits the Government of such a people can cheer them. And so the Government must provide something else out of which some cheerful sentiment can be derived. So the German Government sends its cruisers against the British coast. And the soldiers in the trenches cheer and the people at home celebrate. British isolation has been destroyed! The sea belongs to Britain no longer! That serves for a while. But the deadlock on the western front continues, and the pendulum swings tediously back and forth in the East. So the Government sends its air raiders to Yarmouth. And the men in the battle lines on the Russian front and along the Aisne find in the news the flavor of victory, and the people at home forget their waiting in the joy of a new conquest. The Channel has been bridged! The German Zeppelin has surmounted England's natural barrier! And now, after weeks of waiting and fighting, the Government gives its people another chance to cheer, another chance to congratulate themselves, another chance for renewing their faith in the Fatherland. The German Government says "Submarine!" and the nations tremble.

As a means of reinforcing German sentiment and German patriotism, this latest decree of the German Government has already proved successful, as did its Scarborough raid and the Yarmouth raid. That is its one justification. The enemies of Germany will call it a sign of desperation.

THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY GREGORY MASON AND GEORGE KENNAN

I—A REVIEW OF THE WEEK

BY GREGORY MASON

SINCE General von Emmich's gray columns rolled across the Belgian frontier in violation of the neutrality which had gone uncompromised for seventy-five years nothing has so stirred public opinion in the neutral nations of the world as Germany's declaration of her intention of establishing a "war zone" about the British Isles on and after February 18. This declaration overshadowed in importance all purely military developments of the week February 3 to 10.

The official text of this pronunciamento as it reached the American State Department was not so alarmingly drastic as earlier unofficial newspaper reports would have had us believe, but nevertheless the German declaration was perhaps as arrogant an announcement as a nation at war ever made to nations remaining neutral. This unusual arrogance, however, lay mainly in the tone of the message, for in substance it was hardly more overbearing than the announcement the British Government made on November 4, 1914, in closing the North Sea to neutral shipping. Once again Prussian bluster has hurt Germany's cause with the world, and once again the need of a diplomat with the tact and cunning that was Bismarck's is evident in the Fatherland.

The two points in Germany's declaration which have most aroused the ire of her enemies and the indignation of neutrals are the statement that all "enemy merchant vessels" encountered in the waters around Great Britain included in the war zone "will be destroyed, even if it may not be possible always to save their crews and passengers," and the further statement that "within this war zone neutral vessels are exposed to danger, since, in view of the misuse of the neutral flags ordered by the Government of Great Britain on the 31st ultimo, and of the hazards of naval warfare, neutral vessels cannot always be prevented from suffering from the attacks intended for enemy ships."

The legal aspect of sinking "enemy merchant vessels" without taking off their crews and passengers, and of attacking neutral ves-

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sels under any circumstances, is discussed at length elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook by an authority on international law. Suffice it to say here that both these acts would be absolutely contrary to the accepted usage of the law of nations. Both would be, in fact, plain piracy. Doubtless this consideration is responsible for many of the protests with which the press and public of nearly all the neutral nations have greeted the announcement of the German Government, but it is not responsible for all of these protests. The planting of mines broadcast throughout the North Sea and the blockading of that sea to neutral commerce by Great Britain was, even with the safeguards to neutral commerce provided by her, at best very questionable in international law, but how many voices in the United States were raised against these parts of Britannia's naval programme?

GERMAN BLUNDERS

The fact is that the hue and cry stirred up by this recently announced plan of Germany's shows to what extent the Kaiser and his Government have lost the sympathy of the world. It illustrates how arrant was the stupidity of the war lord in allowing himself to be put in the position of the aggressor, a position which was always shunned by those masters of nineteenth-century diplomacy, Bismarck and Cavour. It makes plain how ill considered was that strategy which called for striking at France through the feebly barred Belgian gate even at the cost of losing the sympathy and moral support of the world, and it demonstrates how valuable that sympathy and moral support is to a belligerent nation and how essential it is to the success even of a nation with perhaps the most efficient battalions and the longest guns the world has ever seen.

I said above that "the substance of the German war zone decree was hardly more overbearing than the announcement the British Government made on November 4, 1914, in closing the North Sea to neutral shipping." That announcement is a good thing for us neutrality-professing Americans to study just now, before rushing into condemnation of the Kaiser. Here is the British announcement as it was conveyed to the American State Department by the British Ambassador:

> Owing to the discovery of mines in the North Sea the whole of that sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft, and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines, which it has been necessary to lay from war-ships, searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft.
>
> All merchant and fishing vessels of every description are hereby warned of the dangers they encounter by entering this area except in strict accordance with Admiralty decisions. Every effort will be made to convey this warning to neutral countries and to vessels on the sea, but from the 5th of November onwards the Admiralty announce that all ships passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides through the Faroe Islands to Iceland do so at their own peril.
>
> Ships of all countries wishing to trade to and from Norway, the Baltic, Denmark, and Holland are advised to come, if inwards bound, by the English Channel and Straits of Dover. There they will be given sailing directions which will pass them safely so far as Great Britain is concerned, up the east coast of England to Farne Island, whence safe route will, if possible, be given to Lindesnaes Lightship. From this point they should turn north or south, according to their destination, keeping as near the coast as possible. Converse applies to vessels outward bound.
>
> By strict adherence to these routes the commerce of all countries will be able to reach its destination in safety, so far as Great Britain is concerned, but any straying, even for a few miles, from the course thus indicated may be followed by serious consequences.

GERMANY'S WAR ZONE AND ENGLAND'S

If we compare this with Germany's recent proclamation, we find that, whereas Great Britain gave us only one day's notice before putting the war zone into effect, Germany has given us two weeks in which to warn our ships of the dangers of circumnavigating the British Isles. Britain's warning was of mines laid by her, Germany's of submarines. The British Admiralty sought to blockade the whole North Sea, including the route north of Scotland to Scandinavia, Holland, and the Baltic, allowing neutral shipping to reach these countries by way of the English Channel and the eastern littoral of the North Sea. The German declaration amounts to a blockade of all the waters around the British Isles including the English Channel, but the Germans leave open to neutral navigation the routes north of the Shetland Islands in the eastern part of the North Sea and in a strip thirty miles wide along the Dutch coast. In other words, if neutral vessels take the northern route around the British Isles they may

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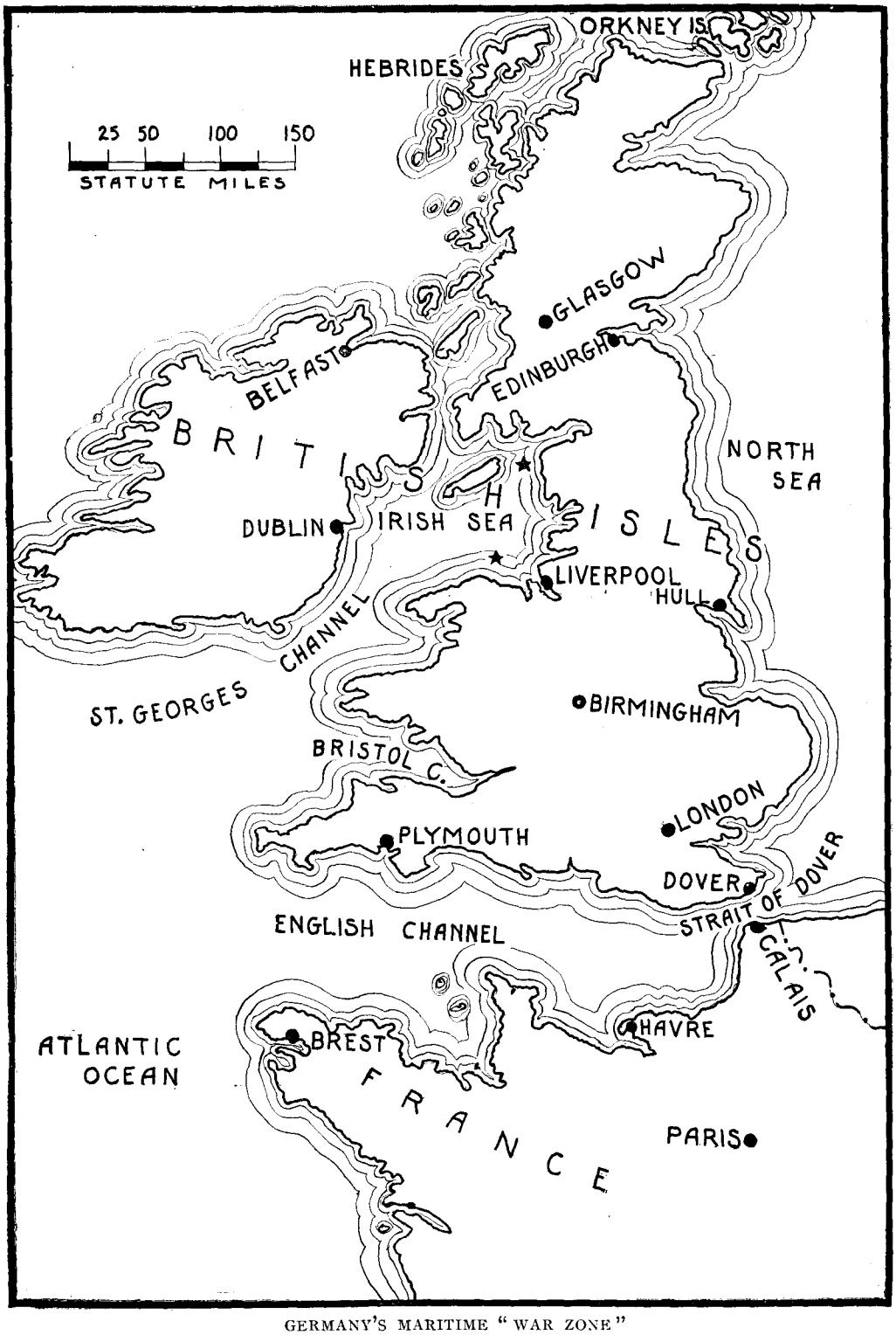

GERMANY'S MARITIME "WAR ZONE"

All the waters about and between the British Isles, from the Orkneys to the Strait of Dover, are included in the "war zone" which Germany hopes to make effective with her submarines. The only passage through the North Sea to Scandinavia and the Baltic which Germany declares safe for neutral vessels lies just north of the Orkney Islands. This adds greatly to the length of the voyage between New York and such ports as Amsterdam or Christiania. The two stars shown on the map in the Irish Sea mark two of the points at which British merchantmen have been recently sunk by the Kaiser's *Unterseeboten*.

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be blown to splinters by British mines, while if they decide to pick their way along the southern route through the English Channel they may be torpedoed by German submarines. A pretty dilemma for an American skipper to face!

Plainly, then, aside from the considerate tone of the British note in contrast to the blunt and menacing form of the German phraseology, the principal difference between the war zone established by Great Britain and the war zone announced by Germany is in the means used to enforce the blockades in these danger areas. Britain uses mines, Germany submarines. It is objected that, according to international law, "blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy," and that Germany cannot hope to make effective this blockade. However, England's blockade has certainly not been air-tight; witness the cruiser raids on Scarborough and the very presence about the British coast of the submarines by which Germany hopes to establish her war zone.

It is true that it seems cold-blooded, to say the least, for a submarine to torpedo an enemy merchant ship without offering the passengers and crew of such vessels means of escape, but, after all, is it much worse than to plant a mine for an enemy merchant vessel to run upon in the night, alone in a dark sea? Is it a worse form of homicide to shoot a man down in the street than to leave an infernal machine for his destruction on his doorstep?

Submarines are too small to permit of their taking off the crews of victim ships. Must they, therefore, forego the opportunity of destroying vessels carrying food and munitions of war to the enemy? So runs the German argument.

Furthermore, international law is silent in regard to these "steel hell-divers," which have reached their present state of perfection since the last Hague Conference. If it be true, as alleged by the Germans, that practically all British merchantmen now carry small-caliber rapid-firing guns, and that a tempting reward has been offered in England for every German submarine rammed and sunk by British merchantmen, and if we admit that in the last analysis a nation at bay, fighting for its very existence, is sorely tempted to ignore some of the international conventions which Teutons have called "moral superstitions," then the German argument must be given, and I think will be given, a fair hearing in the court of neutral public opinion.

One thing is as plain as a pikestaff, though many well-meaning but warm-tempered Americans seem blind to it, and that is that by failing to protest three months ago when England littered the North Sea with mines we made it more difficult for ourselves to protest against Germany's proposed ruthless submarine warfare to-day.

GERMANY'S MOTIVES

There has been much speculation as to the motives that actuated the German Government in declaring this war zone, for the Germans are not such dullards as not to have foreseen the temper in which their announcement would be received by neutral nations. In America their course has generally been hailed as a piece of bluff or as an act of desperation. There probably is some truth in these conjectures, and there certainly is truth in the theory that one of Germany's motives has been to revive the enthusiasm of her own citizens, to give them something to cheer about. However, more than most Americans, perhaps, I am inclined to take stock in the motives which she professes—*i.e.*, the desire to prevent the transportation of Kitchener's spring armies to France, so to frighten neutral shipping that England will have difficulty in getting food—although Germany can hardly believe it yet possible actually to starve out England by a submarine blockade—to weaken Britain's North Sea patrol by forcing her to withdraw vessels for home protection, and to call the world's attention to the alleged misuse of neutral flags by Great Britain.

The denial of the British sea lords that they urged British merchant captains to run the German submarine gauntlet under neutral flags is a shot into the water in view of the subsequent admitted use of the American flag by Captain Dow, of the Lusitania.

THE FLAG INCIDENT

This incident has not been given any more publicity than it deserves. Its importance lies not in any question of legality or illegality. International law indisputably permits merchant vessels to employ the flag ruse in order to avoid capture, and this has been done time and again in past wars by vessels of all the great Powers. The noteworthy aspects of this affair are twofold, however. In the

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first place, the use of the American flag on the Lusitania will confirm the Germans in their conviction that England is making a practice of "flag stealing," will make it more likely that German submarine commanders will strike first and investigate afterwards, and will by no means add to the confidence of bona-fide American skippers cruising in mine-filled and submarine-infested waters.

In the second place, the fact that the Lion hid his head under the Stars and Stripes the other day has given England's enemies foundation for the charge that England is developing what is called in sporting parlance a "yellow streak." Certainly Englishmen are not proud of Captain Dow's exploit. Judging by the tone of some of their newspapers, rather than that the Lusitania should have skulked through home waters under an alien label, they would almost have had her sunk with all on board.

As a ruse Captain Dow's expedient would have been about as effective in the presence of the enemy as the traditional expedient of the fear-smitten ostrich. Not an officer in the Kaiser's navy but knows that Uncle Sam has no 32,000-ton four-funneled liners.

SUBMARINES HAVE MADE GOOD

Germany's submarine warfare against England is not another case of David trying to overthrow Goliath. It must be taken more seriously than that. The fact that the British are beginning to take the raids of the German sea *Dachshunde* seriously is evidenced by the ingenious efforts of the British press to account for the extreme mobility and fine cruising qualities of the enemy's *Unterseeboten*. One of the newspaper myths is to the effect that the Germans have under-water deposits of fuel oil cached about the coasts of Albion, from which the browsing submarines replenish their fuel tanks. The other report, not quite so improbable, but untrue, I believe, although it has found some favor with British Government officials, is to the effect that traitors in British steamers have been taking supplies to the amphibian German sailors from British ports. The truth seems to be that the English are trying to blink the astonishingly rapid development in German submarines which has been one of the surprises of this surprising war. At the opening of hostilities it was commonly believed that Germany had no submarines of an effective cruising radius of over a thousand miles. I have it on very good authority that she now has craft of this type which can undertake round trips of three thousand miles from their supply bases, and, for all we know, they may be capable of much longer cruises.

Admiral Beatty's report in regard to the sea battle off Ameland Island the other day, that "the presence of the enemy's submarines subsequently necessitated the action being broken off," is the greatest tribute to the value of the submarine ever uttered. So it was submarines and not German mine fields, as first reported, that gave the battered German battle cruisers refuge from the blood-lusting Lion, Tiger, Princess Royal, Indomitable, and New Zealand, and saved from imminent destruction three of the most valuable war-ships in the Kaiser's fleet. And this despite the fact that the English vessels were traveling at a rate of speed so high that many naval experts would have believed them virtually immune from submarine attacks, and despite the further fact that the British battle cruisers were attended by their own destroyers and torpedo boats, whose proper mission it is to hunt the little steel diving boats.

The submarine has made good. It has proved its ability to go among battle-ships, cruisers, and destroyers, drive home its bolts, and get away unscathed. Some naval authorities now claim that the engine of war best fitted to cope with it is the aeroplane or dirigible, but it is doubtful even if a bomb dropped directly over a submarine swimming a few feet below the surface would crack open the shell of the boat.

In reviewing the recent exploits of submarines and the German declaration of intended use of them two salient points painfully force themselves upon the attention of every thoughtful American. The first is that our House of Representatives has just cut out five of the sixteen submarines provided for in the Naval Appropriation Bill. The second is that at the time of the arrival of the German war zone communication—an occasion as fraught with dangers to the peace of this country as any perhaps since the insult to our flag at Tampico last April—our Secretary of State was far from the capital, pleasantly engaged on the lecture platform.

THE WEEK ASHORE

In France and Belgium the week has been the quietest one since the new year. Even the Krupp howitzer and the famous "Soixante-

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quinze" were somewhat subdued. Evidently King Winter is having his innings in these regions.

With the Russians, on the other hand, the week has been crowded. It opened with a battle raging on the left bank of the Vistula, near Bolimow, Russian Poland, under the eyes of Emperor William and Czar Nicholas. Although it seems to have been the bloodiest conflict in the east since the battles around Lodz in early December, and although the Germans brought up nearly 30,000 men to the mile on a six-mile front in another grim effort to grasp Warsaw and gain a distinctive advantage in the east before spring comes with Kitchener's new armies demanding attention in the west, and although the Russians concentrated in similar force in the hope of turning this battle into another Borodino, the struggle seems to have ended in slight gains for the Russians on the Vistula.

Sanguinary as it was, from a strategic point of view this battle was overshadowed by the Russian thrust and the German counter in East Prussia. The surprise attack with masses of cavalry which the Russian commander-in-chief launched last week, with Königsberg and Insterburg as its goals, took the Germans off their guard and cost them some small border towns, but once again the splendid railway system of the Germans saved the day for them. Before the Cossack hosts had gone far they found themselves facing an enormous concentration of Germans, brought from Heaven knows where. This raid has proved the futility of endeavoring to catch Germany for long in inferior force while she holds her own railways.

In the Carpathians events have gone against the Russians, whose lines have evidently become too widely extended for their depth. Petrograd admits a widespread retreat in Bukowina, and the hope of a Russian sweep across Transylvania and southern Hungary as irresistible as Tschaikowsky paints it in his "March Slav" seems punctured for the present.

Alas, the poor Turk! His first attempt against Egypt has been foiled by the British as easily as his invasion of the Russian Caucasus was crushed by the soldiers of Nicholas. While the Ottoman Government admits the reverse near Toussoum on the Suez Canal it announces that this raid was a mere scouting expedition, and that the real invasion is yet to come. At any rate, the British will not now be taken unprepared. They have learned much of the fighting manners of the East since Chinese Gordon's life was sacrificed to British overconfidence and pride.

The assertion contained in an official statement given out by the Belgian Legation at Washington to the effect that the German Governor-General in Belgium has levied upon all Belgians who have left their devastated country for foreign asylum "an extraordinary tax, equal to ten times the amount of the personal tax paid by Belgian citizens in normal times," unless they return before March 1, has not been denied by Germany as we go to press. It would be unbelievable that the German Government could be so stupid as to alienate the sympathy of neutral nations by such a flagrant violation of the spirit if not the letter of all international law as this piece of taxation would constitute had not the Kaiser already snapped his fingers so frequently at public opinion. Leaving international law out of it, however, the imposition of such a tax would violate the solemn pledge given by Germany on December 14 not to lay any further taxes upon Belgium after the imposition of the $96,000,000 war tax.

GERMANY AND BULGARIA

The news from the Balkans is more favorable to Germany than it has been in weeks. On the heels of last week's report that England had loaned Rumania $25,000,000 for the avowed purpose of buying munitions of war comes word that Teutonic bankers have loaned $30,000,000 to Bulgaria. This news thickens the plot in the European drama, for until it came to light there was reason to believe that Rumania had secured assurance of Bulgaria's neutrality in the event of Rumania's participation in the war. Russian newspapers, however, strengthen the rumors of renascent ill feeling between Rumania and Bulgaria with reports of a recently formed defensive alliance between Greece and Rumania against their old Balkan rival. And the Vice-President of the Bulgarian Sobranje, Dr. Moneriloff, is reported to have said recently: "It is my firm conviction that Austria-Hungary can only benefit us, while our interests and those of Russia are opposed to each other, as far as Servia is concerned."

At all events, with midwinter reached, it seems probable that there will be no new entries in the war arena till spring. But the thought

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of spring is doubtless spurring Germany's diplomats into frantic efforts to placate all potential future allies of the Triple Entente, as it is spurring her military strategists into desperate plans to keep Kitchener's armies out of France by Zeppelin, submarine, and mine.

New York, February 10, 1915.

II—LIGHTS AND SHADES OF RUSSIAN PROHIBITION

BY GEORGE KENNAN

SINCE my article on "Prohibition in Russia" was written, about two months ago, there have been a few changes in the Russian temperance situation which, although they do not materially affect the general result, are deserving perhaps of notice. They relate chiefly to wine and beer.

For three months after the sale of vodka was forbidden restaurants of the first class and social clubs in Russian cities and towns were allowed to serve wine and beer with meals, and even in some cases to sell these beverages by the case. On the 26th of October, however, the Council of Ministers adopted and the Czar approved a resolution which authorized city and town councils (*dumas*) to forbid or permit the sale of beer and wine at their discretion. Then began everywhere a struggle in the councils between the extreme prohibitionists on one side and the half-hearted compromisers on the other. The latter argued that total abstinence in such a country as Russia is impracticable, that complete prohibition would result only in the illicit manufacture and secret sale of "moonshine" spirits, and that it would be better, even from the temperance point of view, to allow the moderate use of beer and light wines than to encourage the illicit distillation and secret sale of intoxicants that would be even worse than vodka in their effects.

The prohibitionists, on the other hand, contended that the sale of beer and wine would be merely a cover for the sale of stronger drinks; that much of the so-called "wine" already in use consisted of sixty per cent of alcohol with an admixture of coloring matter and burnt sugar; that scores of intoxicated persons were being arrested in the streets every day; and that it would be impossible to eradicate drunkenness without prohibiting intoxicants of every kind.

The first large city to take decisive and final action upon this question was Moscow. On the 22d of December the Moscow City Council adopted complete prohibition by an open vote of more than three to one amid the applause of a large audience of interested citizens.[1] About a week later (December 30) the Petrograd City Council prohibited all intoxicants, including the lighter beverages, by an open vote of 56 to 39.[2] The *gradonachalniks* (prefects) of both cities immediately issued orders to the police to stop the sale of beer and wine in all restaurants and clubs, and for the first time in centuries the two great capitals of Russia—the old and the new—were absolutely "dry." No alcoholic liquor of any kind could be legally procured anywhere, and most of the restaurants either raised their prices for food or made preparations to go out of business.

In other parts of the Empire where city councils have taken action the result has generally been the same. Tambov, Viatka, Ekaterineburg, Ufa, Astrakhan, Samara, Minsk, Ekaterinoslav, and many other towns in both European Russia and Siberia have forbidden the sale of beer and wine, and the example set by Moscow and Petrograd will probably be followed throughout the Empire.

It must not be forgotten that in prohibiting the sale of the lighter beverages Russian towns lose almost as much revenue proportionately as the Central Government does in prohibiting the sale of vodka. Municipalities have hitherto derived a large part of their income from licenses to sell beer and wine, which have been issued to restaurants, *traktirs*, "wine-cellars," and hotels; and it will be more difficult for them to make good this loss than it is for the Central Government to make good the loss on vodka, because the taxing powers of cities and towns are comparatively limited. The City Council of Petrograd estimates that it will lose at least 500,000 rubles this year on beer and wine licenses alone, and the aggregate loss in all the cities and towns of the Empire will be

[1] "Reitch," December 23, 1914.
[2] "Reitch," December 31, 1914.

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very great. The determination to eradicate drunkenness, however, is so strong that it completely overrides all financial considerations. Russia seems bound to try the experiment of complete prohibition, and the temper of the people is such that it may possibly succeed.

Unfortunately, however, the Autocrat who enforced complete prohibition in the peasant villages did not think it necessary to abstain from wine himself when visiting his army. A recently published photograph of the Czar, the Grand Duke Nicholas, two grand duchesses, and a group of officers taking luncheon in the field, behind the lines, shows a table covered with bottles after the old fashion. If Nicholas II were the sincere prohibitionist that he seemed for a time to be, he would not have set an example of wine drinking in the army, where total abstinence is at least as desirable and important as it is in the peasant villages.

So far as one can judge from the Russian newspapers, drunkenness in the towns, although greatly reduced, has not been wholly prevented. Substitutes for vodka in the shape of wood alcohol, denatured alcohol, cologne spirits, and varnish have been used more or less extensively by confirmed inebriates; so-called "wines," made of berry juice, burnt sugar, and denatured alcohol, have been obtainable at twenty cents a bottle; and fermented or distilled liquors of various kinds have been illegally manufactured in small quantities and secretly sold. During the three fall months of 1914 the police arrested intoxicated persons on the streets of Petrograd every day, and the number of such arrests often exceeded one hundred. Between the 1st of August and the 14th of December the number of persons treated for acute alcoholic poisoning in a single Petrograd hospital (the Obukhovski) was 1,050, and the forgery of physicians' prescriptions for alcoholic liquors or preparations became so common that druggists were finally forbidden to fill such prescriptions without first verifying them by telephone.[1]

In the country, however—that is, in the peasant villages—the state of affairs seems to be quite different. There the drinking of intoxicants has almost wholly ceased, partly because it is more difficult to get denatured alcohol and sixty-per-cent "wine" in the country than it is in the towns, and partly because the peasants regard the war very seriously and have cleansed themselves of the sin of drunkenness, just as a *muzhik* who is about to die puts on a clean white shirt. Sobriety, in the stress of peril and under the shadow of death, has come to be regarded as a moral and religious duty. Even the peasant women talk more about prohibition than they do about the war, and peasant children ask their mothers, "Will papa always be as he is now?"

Since my previous article on this subject was written scores of district *zemstvos* (popular assemblies or local legislatures) have been in session, and have not only adopted resolutions favoring absolute prohibition *forever*, but have declared war on all "moonshiners" and all substitutes for vodka of every possible kind. The most energetic supporters of these prohibitory resolutions are the peasants, while in the ranks of the compromisers are to be found, for the most part, only the officials, the landed proprietors, and the representatives of the petty nobility.

Evidences of the beneficial effects of prohibition continue to accumulate. The efficiency of labor and the savings of labor have increased more than fifty per cent; the peasant population is better dressed and better fed than it has ever been before; and crime, disorder, fires, and "hooliganism" have everywhere decreased. In the communal *skhods* (a Russian variety of the New England town meeting) the sober and intelligent peasants have acquired for the first time complete supremacy, and are bringing about a great change for the better in village administration. Under the old régime the *skhods* were largely given up to vodka drinking and quarreling, and the better class of peasants would have nothing to do with them. Now the best men take part in them, village affairs are soberly and intelligently discussed, and appropriations of village money are made for co-operative societies, reading-rooms, and movies. At one of these *skhods* a village peasant, speaking on the subject of prohibition, said: "Formerly we had the rule of 'fists,'[1] shouters, bargain-wetters, and drunkards; but since the village became sober these people have lost their power. Now we elect to office men who can read and write, sober men, and thrifty men—most of them members of co-operative societies."

In order to give the readers of The Outlook a clear idea of this extraordinary social transformation, as it appears from the

[1] "Reitch," January 2, 1915.

[1] A peasant term for the local usurer or speculator.

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Russian point of view, I translate below an article by K. Voribiof, which was recently published in the Petrograd "Reitch:"

THE REGENERATION OF THE RUSSIAN VILLAGE

Our country in general, and our villages in particular, are now living through a most extraordinary period. The spiritual uplift (*dukhovnoe podyom*) caused by the war and the change from drunkenness to sobriety which accompanied it are bringing about before our eyes a profound change in the psychology, the life, and the economic status of our people. Evidences of this change are everywhere manifest, but they are particularly noticeable in the peasant villages. The Russian village has become so completely transformed that it is unrecognizable. The *zemstvo* Statistical Bureau of the province of Zimbirsk recently sent out a questionnaire containing a series of inquiries with regard to the effect that the closing of the vodka shops has had on the life of the peasants. In the replies that it has received from its correspondents a vivid picture is drawn of social regeneration. A village priest writes, for example:

"It is difficult to describe in words the transformation that our peasants have undergone since the drinking of vodka was prohibited. They have become better dressed, they are more industrious, and they show more thoughtfulness and intelligence. Even confirmed drunkards have expressed to me their satisfaction with the changed conditions of life. One of these 'weak brothers,' who formerly was drunk most of the time and who spent in the vodka shops his last pood of flour and the last eggs from his hen-coop, is now making a new gate for his front fence. In the evening he sits at home and discusses further domestic improvements with 'the old woman' (his wife), who, for the first time in years, is free from black-and-blue fist-marks. Such a sight is most encouraging. It is touching also to see how another drunkard now walks home—instead of being led home—from the bazaar, and how joyfully he is met by his well-shod and well-dressed children. All that the people think of now is how the reopening of the vodka shops may be prevented and how this happy, sober life may be indefinitely prolonged."

"The prohibition of the sale of vodka," says another correspondent, "has affected the life of both peasants and artisans in the most beneficial way. All of their earnings are now spent for useful things or in domestic improvements. In the streets of the village one no longer hears indecent songs or sounds of revelry, and in the families there are now no drunken quarrels or fights. On holidays the village is quiet. The people sit at home in an orderly way and talk about their domestic affairs. You will not see in the streets a single intoxicated man, nor hear a single abusive word. The wives and children of drunkards are praying God to bless the Government which has forbidden the sale of vodka. In a word, since the vodka shops closed the people have been reborn. All now is peace and quiet."

A peasant farmer replies to the questionnaire: "It seems as if people had become different. You don't see men going barefoot in the streets, as formerly. Now everybody is respectably dressed and well shod. In a few days will begin the season of weddings. Heretofore at every wedding we have drunk at least one hundred rubles' worth of vodka. Now we buy a lamb for two rubles, and that ends it. In short, the village people that we used to know have disappeared. We seem to be living in another world. There are no disputes, no fights, no robberies, and no fires. It is as though the people in becoming sober had become cultivated. At the village meetings affairs are discussed with common sense, not with cries and abuse, as heretofore. For this reason decent people are now going to them. Formerly they were attended only by drinking men. The principal subject of discussion now is how to get rid of vodka forever."

From many parts of the province, and from many different groups and classes of people, come scores of similar statements. All welcome the reform, and all describe graphically the beneficent results that it has brought about. With hardly a single exception, the correspondents note a spiritual uplift and a moral regeneration. The effects of such regeneration are most clearly seen in the disappearance of hooliganism, the decrease in crime, and the changed conditions of village life. Here are a few extracts from replies to the Statistical Bureau's questionnaire:

"The whole population is now peaceful and quiet. We don't need policemen to maintain order. Every citizen is himself a preserver of order."

"If the vodka shops are closed forever,

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the prisons will have no occupants, the insane asylums will be empty, the judges will have nobody to try, and the doctors will have nobody to prescribe for."

"At the present time, our people are cheerful and hopeful. They are taking newspapers, and on holidays these papers are read aloud to crowds, in which you will see not a few men who were formerly drunkards."

"Life is beginning to show evidences of rebirth, and now we need more schools. It would be well to make high schools out of the distilleries."

"The poorer people are now saving tens of rubles, and the well-to-do hundreds. Our settlement alone has saved more than a thousand, and in the whole country the savings must amount to milliards."

"Since the abolition of vodka the labor of the peasants has increased in productiveness, and, besides that, the money formerly spent for drink now goes for improvement in economic conditions."

In the province of Simbirsk, the savings from total abstinence amount, approximately, to nine or ten million rubles. That, in years of good harvest, was the sum spent annually for drink. It represents an expenditure of from four to four and one-half rubles per capita, or twenty-five rubles per household. This agrees with the statement of other correspondents, that in the whole population (drinking and non-drinking together) the cost of vodka to the average family was two rubles a month. This shows how considerable are the savings that the closing of the vodka shops has enabled the peasants to make.

"If this measure had come in a year of good harvest," writes one peasant, "we should be able to gild ourselves" (that is, should be wealthy), "and even now, with a bad harvest, and with a war that has lessened the number of workers, there is no great need, because our kopeks are spent for useful things."

Such, in a limited space, is the picture which local observers draw of the change brought about in village life and conditions by the prohibition of the sale of vodka. The results of the reform may be briefly summed up in the following words of a peasant correspondent:

"Sobriety in our village has done a blessed work. It has carried peace and quiet into social life, it has brought gladness to families, it has increased prosperity; and, finally, it has made the peasant better, purer, and more moral, because nothing did so much to lower and ruin him as vodka. Long may sobriety reign in our villages!"

It is difficult, at present, to specify all of the beneficial results that have followed the sobering of our people; but there can be no question that they are immense and far-reaching. In them lies a guarantee of full development for our spiritual and economic forces, and an alluring promise of happiness for our native land.

WAR ZONES

A POLL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

AMERICA

GERMANY announces what amounts to a "paper" or partial blockade of the coasts of the British Isles and northern France. Neutral nations are warned that the sea off these coasts will be dangerous to them after February 18, because German submarines in striking at enemy ships may strike at any ship they meet, "even if it is impossible to avert dangers which threaten the passengers and crew."

The Congress of Paris in 1856 declared that blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of an enemy.

But Germany has not enough ships to do this. Hence her proposed war zone is not a real blockade, but a partial blockade.

On this the Columbia (South Carolina) "State" remarks:

> No nation, any more than a man, has the right to prohibit a thing the doing of which it has not the power to prevent. . . . Germany's effort to blockade England is worse than a scrap of paper so far as its effectiveness is concerned. So far as its possible effect in making the dramatic name "World War" entirely descriptive, it has every potentiality inherent in a state of desperation.

International law recognizes actual blockades; it does not recognize blockades by

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manifesto—paper blockades. The difference between the two is thus pointed out by the Rochester "Post-Express:"

If a man declares that nobody shall enter his neighbor's house, a mile away, and that he intends to drop around once in a while and shoot such visitors as he sees, that is a paper blockade. If, however, the belligerent, with his sons and hired men, station themselves with clubs at all the doors of the neighbor's house and stay there night and day to keep visitors out, that is an actual blockade, and the only kind which is legal under international law.

Nevertheless the German Admiralty's declaration of a war zone around the British Islands, including all of the English Channel, is the most rigorous measure of its kind in history, asserts the Buffalo "Enquirer," and adds:

In German opinion, the course adopted is justified as retaliation for the destruction of German commerce and by the desperate nature of the conflict in which she is engaged, ringed about by armed enemies on land and with the seas controlled by the fleets of her foes. That situation, from the German view-point, is ample defense for the most rigorous measures that will weaken her antagonists.

In America our interest lies in the two distinct problems which concern neutrals. First, our free access to a neutral coast—for the first report of the war zone proclamation included the Dutch coast. But where does the amended proclamation leave Holland? The Springfield "Republican" answers:

How Holland will be affected by the German proclamation will be seen from the fact that it is almost the precise converse of the English notice. . . . One closes the front door, the other the back door.

The conditions in the two cases are indeed quite different. In the north the peril comes from the mines which the English have laid, justifying themselves by German precedents. In the Channel, on the contrary, the peril comes from the German submarines, which are not, of course, intentionally to torpedo neutral ships bound for neutral ports, but which, as the proclamation significantly hints, might make a mistake. . . .

The torpedo of the submarine is a more selective device, and it is possible that one motive in making the proclamation complementary to that of the British Admiralty is the hope of inducing Britain to abandon its extreme doctrine of military areas, against which there has been much indignation in Germany.

As to the second problem, the keeping of neutral shipping out of the war zone, the storm of adverse criticism aroused in this country has now been allayed, in the view of some newspapers, by a statement from the German Ambassador. The Brooklyn "Citizen" summarizes it and interprets it as follows:

Count von Bernstorff is at pains to state that Germany has no intention of seizing or injuring ships of neutral nations convoying food supplies to England or France.

As to the warrant for the decree the Count finds it in the action of the British Government in declaring the neutral waters of the North Sea within military operations. Germany, he says, has simply imitated Great Britain. Alluding to the offer of a British paper giving a reward of $7,500 to the first British merchantman that sends a German submarine to the bottom, the Count asserts that this will bring back the old days of privateering. It is well that the Count has made his reassuring statement, for public opinion in this country keenly resented what was understood to be Germany's attitude toward neutral vessels. . . . Even without this decree German submarines have sent British merchantmen to the bottom, and if the number has not been more than two or three, it was not from any scruples as to the ethics of such warfare, but rather lack of opportunities. . . . The German naval officers are perfectly well aware that the "blockade" is only a farce, but it serves its purpose of satisfying the German people.

On the other hand, there are newspapers whose indignation is not at all appeased. What shall we do? says the Providence "Evening Bulletin." "No time should be lost by the United States Government in entering a vigorous protest against this colossal impudence."

The Boston "Transcript" remarks that "the policy of widening the anti-German sentiment among neutral nations never seems to dawn on the minds of the statesmen of Berlin." The New York "Commercial" concludes: "So unbearable is the situation becoming that it gives rise to the suspicion that Germany is riding for a fall."

GERMANY

And yet, despite all that has been said, Germany's intentions remain obscure. The German Government tells neutrals that "it is advisable for their ships to avoid entering this area," but the German Embassy at Washington ridicules the notion that a blockade of the British Isles is attempted. The Berlin "Post" declares that it is a blockade, and that after February 18 "men and freight,

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not only on British ships, but under a neutral flag, are doomed to sink." On the other hand again, the Berlin "Tageszeitung" says: "The declaration of the British coast waters as a war zone is not a blockade; therefore, it is warfare not bound by the rules of international law on blockades."

ENGLAND

In reply to Count von Bernstorff's statement that Germany proposes only the destruction of enemy ships, that there is nothing new in the German Government's new order, and that according to the usages of war naval vessels are justified in destroying the merchantmen of the enemy, the London "Daily News" says:

A glance at any current German paper, not to speak of the proclamation itself, is sufficient to dispose altogether of all these claims, and it is clear from these German sources that Germany does impartially contemplate the destruction of neutral ships, that the proclamation embodies a proposal quite unknown to civilized naval warfare—the sinking of merchantmen without regard to the lives of their crews—and it is not true that Germany's new move is regarded by the Germans themselves as simply a continuation of what has been since the beginning of the war the attitude of belligerents toward enemy ships.

The Germans in Germany know perfectly well that what they are contemplating is something never dreamed of hitherto by any other power, and never practiced by themselves. Their press boasts of it. . . . However, it is possible that his [the ambassador's] example may be followed by Germany itself. Brutal defiance of public opinion, followed by abject attempts to explain that defiance away by palpable falsehoods as soon as the efforts become visible, has been what Germany called statesmanship for a long time before. The results of that policy are seen in Germany's international position to-day, and that position will not be remedied by persistence in such a policy.

To quote again from the same paper, we find that Germany's latest war measure may have significance for our shipping. The "News" now commends President Wilson's Shipping Bill. It declares that if supplies should be threatened, "it will not be an unimportant fact that a great neutral country possessing a mercantile marine of its own can send its ships into our ports unmolested and unafraid."

FRANCE

Despatches from Paris report that the German proclamation has provoked an outburst of indignation in the French press, although it is hailed generally as an indication that Germany is beginning to find her situation desperate.

The Paris "Journal" thinks that the measure will have only two consequences: first, the death of inoffensive sailors; and, second, the paralysis of the sea trade of neutrals. Consequently, the paper argues, the measure would cut off Germany's food supply, for neutral shipping would not expose itself to danger.

HOLLAND

The "Courant" of Rotterdam says:

The [German] public expects enormous results from the new scheme. The success of the submarines touched the imagination of the people to such an extent that they believe the British no longer rule the waves. They are convinced that the proclamation will be one of the decisive influences of the war. It caused a momentary thrill of emotion.

For some time the Germans everywhere have been eagerly snatching at suggestions of peace because they are beginning to learn the true facts of the German position.

SWEDEN

The news from Stockholm reflects the indignation expressed by the Swedish press because of the German proclamation. The belief is expressed that it will result in the Government making a protest to Berlin. The "Dagens Nyheter" (Daily News), which is in close touch with the Swedish Foreign Office, declares that England's regulation in regard to neutral shipping in the North Sea caused annoyance, but that it guaranteed safe traffic on certain routes. The paper says that, while Swedish vessels suffered severely from German mine-laying, the latest order "beats the record, by declaring the most extensively used waters a closed sea, and threatening neutral ships with torpedoes."

ITALY

The Turin "Stampa," the principal paper in Piedmont, thus comments on a special hardship to Italy:

Apart from the legal question, the German proceeding threatens the absolute annihilation of Italy's coal supply, which is largely obtained from England, and the consequent paralysis of many Italian industries. Few things since the war began have so greatly alarmed the Italians, who have fresh evidence that neutrality cannot spare them from all the consequences of war.

More important is the comment of the

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Rome "Tribuna," the Government organ. It asserts that Germany does not take into account the rights or even the dignity of neutrals, while Great Britain gave satisfaction to protests made by the United States and Italy, granting the latter the right to maintain the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband. Continuing, the paper says:

Germany can be assured that some neutral Powers will refuse to accept her ruling under which the established custom of the examination at sea of neutral vessels is abandoned and peaceful neutral ships are put in the same category as hostile vessels. This will evoke protest from some neutrals. If Germany finds that she has been damaged by certain British measures, she should answer with reprisals damaging to Great Britain, but not striking at neutral Powers in the movements of their ships or the lives of their subjects.

Hence, affirms the "Tribuna," neutral countries will insist that belligerents maintain the custom of boarding and examining ships before sinking them, and that Germany shall be held responsible for the sinking of any vessels without this formality. The whole war zone proclamation as it affects neutrals is, concludes the "Tribuna," a piece of "intolerable arbitrariness."

A PRO-GERMAN LETTER AND A REPLY

A number of letters have been received commenting upon the "Letter to a German-American Friend," which was published in The Outlook of January 6. The majority of our correspondents approved of "L. F. A.'s" position. Three or four, however, are vigorous in their opposition. Of these dissenting letters we select the following because it is by an American, and condemns what he himself admits to be the general American point of view. Together with his letter we print "L. F. A.'s" reply.
—THE EDITORS.

I—THE PRO-GERMAN LETTER

I READ the letter by "L. F. A." in The Outlook of January 6 to a German-American friend with much interest. Since you devote so much space to anti-German sentiment, perhaps your spirit of fair play will move you to present the views of one who takes an opposite stand.

I am not a German-American, since I and my parents were born in America, but I sympathize heartily with Germany. I cannot speak German, have never visited Germany, and am bound to her by no sentimental ties. Although what I have to say may sound unpatriotic, I am not among those who believe that America can do no wrong, and I use my privilege of freedom of speech to give my reasons for believing that she is in the wrong.

And first let me say that the European war can have for America only an academic interest. We hear suggestions from people who ought to know better that the United States should interfere in behalf of Belgium, on the side of the Allies.

But if the United States has had one unchangeable foreign policy—handed down from our earliest times—that policy is to refrain from meddling in European affairs, in return for which Europe has given us a free hand in the Americas.

There are a great many things about England and the English that I admire, and I think the British Empire is a splendid thing for the world in a number of respects. With the honest, hard-working common people of England I have no quarrel. But with a system which allows a Prime Minister, unknown even to other members of his Cabinet, to sign a treaty which binds his nation to engage in war, I can have no sympathy.

And they are grossly deceived who believe that the recent British professions of friendship are based on altruism.

Ten or fifteen years ago the English Government began to cultivate the friendship of the United States because the Germans were beginning to build a large navy.

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England knew that our good will was essential on account of her vulnerability as to Canada. America swallowed the bait whole. But let the menace of the German navy be removed, and John Bull will again assume his true colors.

Americans, as a rule, are too prejudiced to take a rational view of the war. One of the best illustrations of American bias is our attitude toward Russia since the war began. Before the war American and English publicists wrote volumes about barbarous, tyrannous, ambitious, scheming Russia; but now what a change! Russia is now the standard-bearer of democracy, the repository of all the noble virtues. Perhaps this is true; but I know what would be said about her if she were fighting against England.

I believe, too, that millions of Americans are congenitally incapable of grasping anything concerning foreign affairs because they hide their heads in the sand; they allow their minds to be befuddled with grandiloquent platitudes and reverberatory tub-thumpings; they allow dead politicians to do their thinking for them; and are afflicted with that crowning curse of America, the co educational mind.

I sometimes think that, so far as America is concerned, Thomas Jefferson and thought lie buried in the same grave.

The mere fact that so much attention was paid to the diplomatic books of all colors shows the intellectual state of America. Diplomacy is merely skillful deception, and no nation, Germany included, would publish any diplomatic correspondence unless it bore out its own contention. Then, too, the childish prattle about Kaisers and Kings and military cliques and militarism, the advocacy of democracy as a cure-all, and the parrot-like repetition of "War is hell," make one wonder if our statistics about education are not heavily padded.

If war is hell, the United States was conceived and born in hell, grew to manhood in hell, and was indissolubly united in hell. Treitschke is right when he says that all states owe their existence and growth to wars, but one can find few Americans honest enough to admit it.

Who started the war? is a question I refuse to worry about. I firmly believe that the war was begun by Russia, with the connivance of England and France. England's policy has always been one of a modified Donnybrook Fair—if you see a head, get some one to hit it for you.

I have yet to see a logical explanation of the French loans of billions to Russia—loans upon which France lost in interest (considering what she could obtain from better investments) over forty million dollars annually.

The money, of course, went to arm and reorganize the Russian armies as rapidly as possible. In 1916 or 1917 the Russian hordes would be ready, and France, Russia, and England would force war on Germany.

Germany knew this, and, as she had a better chance of coming out victoriously, or at least putting up a better fight now than later on, I, for one, do not blame her if she brought on this war. If she is beaten, she will be no worse off than if she had stupidly allowed her known enemies to prepare thoroughly for her destruction.

And now as to Belgium. Belgium could have saved herself from the horrors of war, but she was afraid of the wrath of France and England should she allow the Germans to cross her territory; for she thought, with almost all the rest of the world, that the Allies would make short work of Germany. She staked her all on the wrong horse and lost.

But France and England would have been compelled to invade Belgium (probably with the consent of the latter) if they were to crush "Prussian militarism."

How do I know this? Look at a contour map and you'll see. An army of half a million Germans could keep the world at bay if Germany were attacked only along her French border. France claims to have four million men in her armies at the front, and England is said to have three-quarters of a million.

How could these vast armies be brought against Germany if not through Belgium, and perhaps Holland?

It can be mathematically demonstrated that an army of this size would require a front of a hundred miles or more for its operation, since modern armies require roads and railways for their transportation and to keep themselves supplied, and are no longer able to march across country. If it is figured how long it will take an army of fifty thousand to march past a given point, one can form some faint idea of the tremendous transportation problems involved in the rapid movement of millions.

It is said that the correspondence discovered in Antwerp does not show that Belgium, France, and England were in a military alliance. But it does show (and Americans conveniently overlook this point) that Eng-

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land had promised to aid Belgium in case she were attacked.

When Maeterlinck tells an Italian audience that Belgium stood up without hope and sacrificed herself for the cause of justice, he insults the intelligence of the world. Belgium was given to understand that France and England would come to her aid if she were invaded; that the war would be fought along the Liège-Namur line, and from there the invasion of Germany would take place. And with this understanding Belgium fought.

But as she fought she looked over her shoulder and cried: "England! Help! France! Oh, France, abandon your attacks through Alsace-Lorraine and come to my aid, as you promised, lest I perish!" But help came not.

It is now explained that it would have been impossible for France and England to aid Belgium, on account of the danger of being cut off by the more rapid movements of the Germans. Had Belgium known this, the history of the war would have been different.

So Belgium lies crushed and bleeding, with a broken heart, a victim of misplaced confidence—another of England's dupes. And England, to cover her duplicity and impotence, unloosens her forces of canting, sniveling hypocrites upon the world. And in America she finds a kindred soul and strikes a responsive chord. America takes up the English burden and assumes the task of caring for the Belgians. The Belgians must be taken care of, necessarily, but England, when the war is over, should be made to indemnify us for our trouble.

And if this war results in putting an end to the buffer-state idea it will have accomplished at least one good purpose. For Belgium is only a buffer state, formed chiefly through the aid of England to protect herself from France and Germany. Hence English crocodile tears.

It will be a blessing if Belgium becomes a part of an empire able to protect it from further harm. Belgium, by right, ought to be a part of Germany, or at least a member of the customs union. If Louisiana or New York were in the possession of an unfriendly power, we would take them in a hurry.

Although it grieves me to say it, the United States, when it comes to cant and hypocrisy, is a chip off the old block. Uncle Sam is in the position of a man who has inherited millions from a hard-working, foresighted ancestor. From his position of affluence he seems to say:

Germany, why can't you be good and noble like me? I am perfectly satisfied with my possessions. I have all the land I want, and I do not care for any more. You say your people cry for bread? Why don't they eat cake?

If your country is becoming too thickly settled, why, instead of acquiring colonies, don't you try race suicide?

War is hell and is bad for business. I would have gone to war with Mexico, conquered and annexed her territory, but it would have cost me five hundred million dollars and ninety-eight cents, and blood would have been spilled.

Besides, I wouldn't have Mexico for a gift.

War in some cases may be all right. I myself fought a small war with Spain a short time ago, and my friend John Bull has fought dozens of small wars with weak Powers and tribes, but these wars caused very little disturbance.

But for you to go to war against opponents larger than yourself is inexcusable.

I believe in disarmament, but if I keep my factories busy turning out war material for the nations at war you cannot blame me, can you? Business is business. When this war is concluded, and I no longer have a market for my war supplies, I shall again take up the question of disarmament. For I am very noble. See my halo! Feel my wings! I consider it my duty to set the world an example.

It was very wrong of you to burn Louvain. It is true that General Sherman burned Atlanta and laid waste the country to the sea, but Sherman, of course, was an American.

Our first Mexican War affords another opportunity for the hypocrites. We fought a dishonorable, inglorious war with Mexico, according to them, and took half her territory away from her. But that was before we became converted. If a man is a thief in his youth and becomes repentant in his old age, what does he do? Makes restitution.

So, before we point the finger of scorn at Germany, let us return Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California to Mexico. Let us remove ourselves from our glass house or forever hold our mouths closed about the rights of smaller and weaker states.

A word with those whose chauvinism takes the form of glorifying democracy and sneering at aristocracy and monarchy. We in America can afford to put up with the extravagance, inefficiency, and mediocrity of our Government, since we possess a rich, undeveloped continent, geographically separated from strong foreign foes. But for Germany to adopt democracy would be to commit eco-

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nomic suicide; and it would mean such an intellectual and sentimental wrench as would be involved in a change from Catholicism to Protestantism or the reverse.

It is far more likely that the Government of the United States will become like that of Germany than the opposite. The spread of the commission form of government idea, the formation of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the Federal Reserve Board, all tend to show our drift toward bureaucracy.

There have been various suggestions as to what should be done to Germany should the Allies be successful. If the Allies wish to cripple her permanently and make of her a secondary Power, all they have to do is to insist that Germany adopt a democratic form of government.

And so I hope and pray that Germany will be victorious, for the following reasons:

I sympathize with her naturally, because she is the foully slandered under dog.

If Germany wins, it will be a triumph of efficiency and foresight over the muddlers-through and the wasters.

It will be a triumph of a land of homes over a land of race suicide and selfishness; and, figuratively, it will be a victory of Sparta over decadent Rome.

The world needs a Germany, a believer in masculinism, to counteract the effeminacy, namby-pambyism, skim-milksopism, and doormatism that are leading to degeneracy and decay.

Professor Roland Usher says he wishes England to win because she allows us to keep Porto Rico, and because the English navy maintains the Monroe Doctrine. If that be true, we are nothing but a kept Nation; and therefore I wish Germany to win because we will then have to pay our own way and stand on our own feet.

If Germany wins, she will become so powerful that we will be forced, in self-defense, to change radically our easy-going methods of business and government. We will be forced to throw over pork-barrels, traitorous army post and navy-yard appropriations, disgraceful pension grafts, and numerous other corrupt practices. And we will be compelled to replace our present Donnybrook Fair and bull-in-the-china-shop political parties with a constructive party.

A German victory would have a tendency to remove the demoralizing French influence from our lives. French art, life, and morals may be all right in a proper environment, but when grafted on the Puritan Anglo-Saxon the result makes one weep.

It has always seemed to me that America owed her greatness to the religious and moral character of her early settlers, and not to her form of government or the Declaration of Independence. "The early settlers of Massachusetts could make any form of government work successfully," says an authority.

And in the spirituality of its women and in the ideals of cleanliness, honor, and chivalry of its men (which, if not always attained, still remained ideals) America showed its chief points of superiority over Europe.

But what heartburnings the last few years have brought passionate lovers of the true soul of America!

We tended to become nothing but a cheap imitation of England and France, with all of their vices and none of their redeeming virtues.

But with a defeat of the Allies America will be forced to buckle on her old armor of purity, sobriety, self-denial, and earnest-mindedness if she would fulfill her early promises. And if it is true, as an English writer has recently tried to show, that Americans seem bound to imitate the peoples of other nations when thrown in contact with them, we will be far, far better off if we choose thrifty, moral, self-sacrificing, Spartan Germany for a model than if we pattern ourselves after France and snobbish, luxury-loving England.

W. J. B.

II—THE REPLY

Another of my correspondents concludes his letter with this sentence: "An American has as much right to hate the English Government as he has to hate the German Government, and more reason to do so."

I say he has no right or reason to hate either. The most deplorable product of war is not death, nor wounds, nor devastation, but hatred. The hatred engendered by our Civil War, now happily all but blotted out by a better friendship between the North and South, brought more terrible evils in its train than all the sufferings on all the battlefields of that great conflict. And it is a curious

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thing that hatred in all wars is more manifested by non-combatants than by combatants. A father who whips his son in a deliberate spirit of hatred does not punish, he commits assault and battery; a soldier who kills his enemy with personal hatred commits murder; and no normal man can think of himself as a cold-blooded murderer without a shudder, although the noblest of men may fight—and fight to kill—to right human injustice or to suppress human cruelty. Magnanimity has always been a quality of the greatest warriors. History and literature are full of records of stern fighters who believed that even in war the words *noblesse oblige* are something more than a mere empty sentiment. No one can read the "Chronicles of Froissart," or the "Morte d'Arthur," or the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," or "Marmion," or "The Talisman," without realizing that even in the Middle Ages personal hatred in warfare was regarded as despicable. And in our own times and our own country, Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson were incapable of hatred. In the present war there have been innumerable instances of mutual respect and sympathy shown by the individual combatants. Kreisler, the great Austrian violinist, who fought and was wounded in the Austrian trenches, has only recently described a typical episode, already related in these pages, of the war in which the Austrian and Russian soldiers helped one another in a time of need. Hatred—except the hatred of cruelty, rapine, and bloodthirstiness—has never accomplished anything good in war.

Nor has cynicism. It is the easiest weapon to flourish and the most ineffective in permanent results that can be employed in any controversy. You appear to believe that the sympathy of the American people is almost wholly on the side of the Allies. In this judgment I think you are right. But you ascribe that sympathy to hypocrisy; I ascribe it to idealism, and so, I think, I am more fortunate than you. For I am glad to believe that my countrymen have some deep-seated ideals of international relations, of chivalry in warfare, and of the rightness of democracy, while you must certainly be unhappy at the lot which has made you a citizen of a country whose essential characteristic you are convinced is hypocrisy.

You say you are bound to Germany by no ties of sentiment. Will you let me point out to you that a preponderant majority of American citizens are bound to England by very strong ties of sentiment? The original thirteen colonies were established by Englishmen; our Constitution was framed by men of the English race; our common law is English; our language is English; millions of Americans have drawn comfort, good cheer, instruction, and inspiration from English literature. Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, Browning, Scott, Dickens, and Stevenson are something more than mere names to us.

You say you have never been in Germany. It is possible, therefore, that you have never been in France. In your condemnation of the French character and people do you stop to think of Lafayette or of de Tocqueville, who wrote the most sympathetic interpretation of American democracy that has ever come from a foreign pen—unless you except "The American Commonwealth" by Bryce, the Englishman? To appreciate the fine qualities in French life and institutions that do appeal to American sentiment, it is not necessary even to have seen the French people in their own country—one has only to read Philip Gilbert Hamerton's "Round My House," or W. C. Brownell's "French Traits," or Barrett Wendell's "The France of To-Day," or Alphonse Daudet's "Contes de Lundi" and "Lettres de mon Moulin," or Mistral's "Memoirs." Whatever you may think of English or American hypocrisy, you must agree with me, I feel sure, that the French in the present terrible crisis have displayed remarkable dignity, reticence, poise, and adminstrative efficiency. They have talked little and have done much. Can the same be said as truly of the German and the Pro-German?

I do not think that the judgment of the American people upon the course of Germany in this war is based merely, or even largely, on sentiment. The reasons of logic and fact for their judgment I gave with some fullness in my previous letter. But, since you raise the question of sentiment, it is not perhaps inappropriate to point out that Americans have a just ground for a deep, sympathetic interest in the welfare of England and France.

What has sometimes seemed to me to be one of the best things that Theodore Roosevelt ever said bears directly upon this question of the part that sentiment has in forming a judgment. Some years ago he said in a public speech: "Of all broken reeds, senti-

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mentality is the most broken reed on which righteousness can lean." To a correspondent who asked if the word "sentiment" ought not to be substituted for the word "sentimentality" he replied:

I regard sentiment as the exact antithesis of sentimentality, and to substitute "sentiment" for "sentimentality" in my speech would directly invert its meaning. I abhor sentimentality, and, on the other hand, I think no man is worth his salt who is not profoundly influenced by sentiment and who does not shape his life in accordance with a high ideal.

To refer, in closing, to your final paragraph, I do not think that the American Nation ought to imitate any other nation. It ought to adopt the good lessons that the practices of other nations teach, and eschew their evil examples. For my part, I prefer the ideal of England, which aided the Boers, beaten by her in war, to establish an independent Confederation in South Africa, or the ideal of my country, which gave Cuba back to the Cuban people for self-government, to the ideal of Germany, which swallows up Luxemburg and, after wringing from Belgium a huge money indemnity, incorporates her by force in a "protecting" empire. One is the ideal of democracy and free individual development; the other, the ideal of "efficient" bureaucracy and subordination of the individual to the state. L. F. A.

THE SHIP, THE FLAG, AND THE ENEMY

BY ELLERY C. STOWELL

The Editors of The Outlook asked Professor Stowell for an article answering in an authoritative manner some of the more salient questions of international law raised by Germany's declaration of a maritime war zone, and by the use of the American flag by British ships. This article is not, therefore, an expression of opinion. It is an interpretative statement by an expert of the principles which the best usage of the law of nations has decreed shall be applicable in such situations as are now under discussion—situations, that is, which may well arise from the attempt of Germany to establish a war zone, and from the admitted flying of the Stars and Stripes by English vessels. On such matters Professor Stowell is an authority of international reputation. After graduating from Harvard, he devoted several years to the study of international law at the University of Berlin and the University of Paris, and then returned to this country to teach this subject first at George Washington University and later at the University of Pennsylvania. He had opportunity to see the practical side of international affairs and diplomacy as a secretary at the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907, and as secretary to the American delegation to the Naval Conference at London in 1908–9. Professor Stowell is now Assistant Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at Columbia University, and he is a frequent contributor on topics involving international law to European and American reviews.

*The meaning of the declaration of this new "war zone" is discussed in an editorial in this issue under the title "The German Decree."—*THE EDITORS.

IN the great conflict which is now going on, England, supreme on sea, and Germany, mightiest on land, have not been able to deal each other a vital blow. Their forces are deadlocked, and their Governments have recourse to indirect means to bring about a termination of the war. England has more funds for prolonging the contest, and hopes by using her credit and placing the burden on future generations to come to the end of Germany's resistance. Germany, on the other hand, relies on her magnificent organization to place on the shoulders of each individual a burden in proportion to what he has the strength to bear. She thinks that her wise provisions and the enthusiastic, dis-

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ciplined patriotism of her people will carry her on to victory. England, however, would like to use her naval supremacy to cut off Germany's supplies of food and war materials and further weaken her resistance. To prevent this Germany has employed her fleet of submarines in an effort to wear away the British supremacy, and has laid mines hoping to destroy British ships.

International law placed in England's hands two means to effect her purpose of strangling Germany. First, by blockade to cut out access to German ports; but blockade, it is said, is difficult to maintain on account of the great development of submarines. In any event, blockade would not be a very effective means, since Germany's supplies could reach her through the Scandinavian countries or through Italy. The other means by which England might interfere with Germany's supply is through the seizure of contraband; but, according to the recognized rules of international law, England would not be able to seize food supplies destined for a neutral country, even though she might believe they would eventually find their way into her enemy's territory. So England took the course that any great Power might well have taken in a situation similarly desperate, and stretched the rule of contraband until she substituted the idea of ultimate consumption in place of ultimate destination; that is to say, declared contraband all food supplies which would ultimately be consumed by the belligerent, in place of the well-recognized rule which would have permitted her to confiscate only food supplies immediately destined to the forces of her enemy. She has taken the stand that in the case of shipments to the countries bordering on the German frontier she may prevent all imports in excess of what might be considered normal, on the assumption that they were intended for German consumption. Furthermore, she has so used her right of visit and search as to detain for long periods many innocent cargoes. The effect of this has been to frighten off other shippers.

The United States has been patient in the face of these serious interferences with her neutral rights because she still had a good market in Great Britain and France, and because this country was stirred to its very depths by Germany's violation of the most fundamental principles of international law by her invasion of Belgium. By maintaining a complaisant attitude towards these British infringements of the rights of the United States, public opinion in this country has given an unconscious expression of its real feeling that the nations of the world should co-operate with the Allies to enforce respect for the fundamental principles of international law. In applying to the transgressor of international law the only effective sanction which exists among the nations as now organized—that is, condemnation by the public opinion of the civilized world—the transgressor is penalized by a force indirect but none the less crushing.

Germany, after attempting to obtain what effect she might from air-ship raids and bombardment of the British coast, has come at last by way of reprisal to employ her torpedo fleet in the destruction of her enemy's merchantmen bound with supplies to the British Isles, and now she ominously warns the United States that after February 18, within a certain defined area, designated as a "war zone," she intends to pursue her retaliatory course against Great Britain, and that in consequence the safety of neutral ships may be endangered. This situation gives rise to many interesting questions, some of which I shall attempt to answer.

(1) *What is a war zone?*

If such a thing does exist, it certainly cannot be accurately defined. Perhaps it may be said to convey the idea of an area in which one or both of the belligerents find it necessary to exercise in the fullest measure their belligerent rights. The views of the belligerent in regard to the exercise of these rights may conflict with those of the neutral whose interests lie in protecting his commerce. The belligerent, to minimize the inconvenience to neutrals, may notify them of the date when such action will commence and of the area within which it will take place, expecting in return that the neutrals will be ready to allow without protest a fuller exercise of rights in accordance with his interpretation of them.

The war zone is an attempt to effect a practical compromise between the views of the belligerent, on the one hand, and those of neutrals, on the other. By limiting the area of application the belligerent hopes that the neutrals will not contest the exercise within the circumscribed limits of what the belligerent would maintain as his rights.

The declaring of a war zone cannot, however, give a belligerent the right to take any action not authorized by international law.

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He remains fully responsible, within the zone as elsewhere, for any violation of the rights of neutrals by the forces under his command.

(2) *What is an effective blockade?*

An effective blockade is one that is maintained by a sufficient force to render dangerous the access to or egress from those ports or that portion of belligerent territory to which it is intended to apply. The London Declaration changed or simplified the diverse practices in regard to blockade. Although the rules of the Declaration of London do not constitute international law, it is to be expected that they will be applied except where a belligerent considers that he has a real interest to revert to his former practice. Whether a blockade can be maintained by means of floating mines or submarines is a disputed question of international law. The fundamental idea of a blockade is that it is a compromise between the right of neutrals to continue their ordinary commerce and the right of a belligerent to bring pressure to bear on his adversary by cutting off his trade with those ports or portions of his coast which he is able effectively to patrol by means of his naval force.

The fourth rule of the Declaration of Paris declares: Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. To restrict this right within reasonable limits, neutrals must be allowed to disregard any blockade that is not effective; otherwise a belligerent would declare extensive regions blockaded and make it an excuse for seizing any ships destined thereto.

(3) *Has a belligerent merchantman the right to fly a neutral flag?*

It has been generally recognized that belligerent ships of all kinds may employ the flag of a neutral nation as a ruse of war, to escape seizure, or for any other purpose, provided the true flag is displayed before the commission of any act of war. Undoubtedly there is much to be said against this practice, and it is to be hoped that it may be prohibited at the end of this war. In the case of the Lusitania, however, there is no reason to hold the belligerent responsible for endangering American ships, since the destruction of a ship without a previous visit and the examination of papers is absolutely contrary to international law. If later an American ship should be destroyed, under the belief that she was really British, the full responsibility would fall upon those guilty of this violation of international law, and not in the slightest upon those who had previously made use of our flag to escape danger.

(4) *Has a belligerent a right to make use of torpedoes or other means to destroy his enemy's merchantmen, without visit and search, even though this may involve the death of passengers and crew?*

Without question a belligerent does not have any such right. The security of neutral commerce depends upon the strict observance of the rule which requires a belligerent to visit every ship and examine its papers before he seizes it or sinks it. In certain exceptional cases he may destroy a neutral vessel, liable to condemnation, when such action is necessary. Under no circumstances, however, whether the vessel be neutral or belligerent, may she be destroyed unless her papers are preserved and the safety of the passengers and crew provided for. No Government would for a moment maintain the right of its cruisers to fire and sink a vessel without a previous visit and examination of the ship's papers. The fact that a shot is delivered below the surface of the water does not in the slightest affect this principle. It is not a sufficient compliance with the requirements for the safety of the passengers and crew to turn them adrift in small boats. Should loss of life result from this action to any American citizen it would be good ground for war.

(5) *What is the difference between the German announcement of a war zone and the British warning in regard to a mine area in the North Sea?*

The essential difference is that, though Great Britain claimed to have recourse to the laying of mines by way of reprisals made necessary by the action of Germany, she did not, in theory, disregard the rights of neutrals to pass through these regions, but arranged so that they should call at a British port to be piloted through the mined area. No doubt, in practice, this acted as a very serious interference with neutral commerce, for it interfered with the legitimate attempt to ship contraband to German ports. To this extent it constituted a sort of blockade by mines.

It would seem that Germany not only intends to employ by way of reprisals against

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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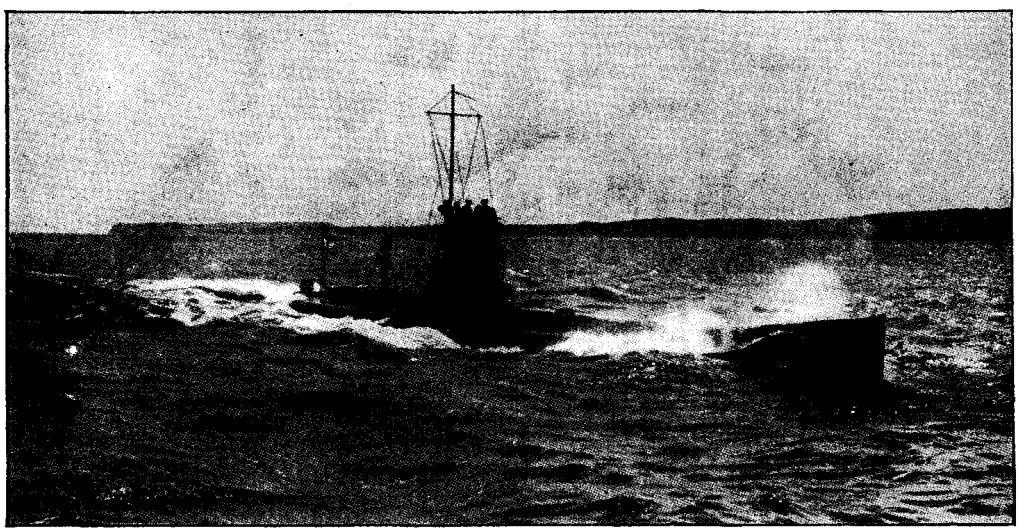
Current Events Pictorially Treated



COURTESY OF ILLUSTRIRTE ZEITUNG

THE GERMAN SUBMARINE U 8

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A FRENCH SUBMARINE PARTLY SUBMERGED

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE SUBMARINE'S WEAPON

THE SUBMARINE—CAN IT BLOCKADE GREAT BRITAIN?

See editorial comment and Professor Stowell's article on this question

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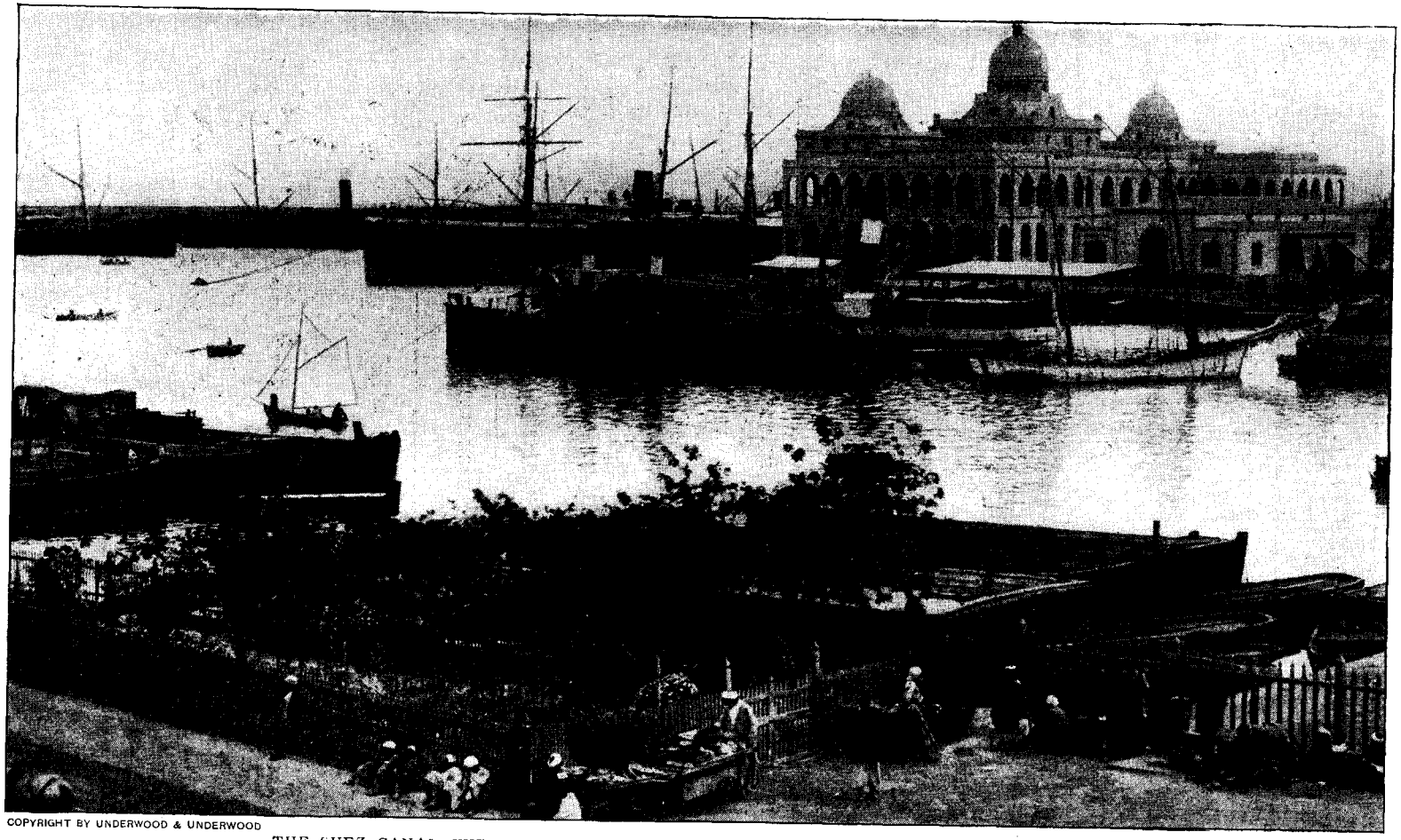

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THE SUEZ CANAL, WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OFFICES OF THE CANAL AT THE RIGHT

A GREAT ENGINEERING WORK THAT MAY BE INVOLVED IN THE WAR

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PHOTOGRAPH BY HARRIS & EWING

A GREAT BUSINESS CONVENTION

The meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at Washington aroused National interest; comment on its significant features will be found on our editorial pages. The persons present, as shown in the above picture of one of the preliminary meetings of officers and directors, are, from left to right around the table: James G. Cutler, Rochester; Leon C. Simon, New Orleans; W. H. Douglas, New York; F. E. Boothby, Portland, Me.; C. E. Yost, Omaha; W. H. Stevenson, Pittsburgh; R. G. Rhett, Charleston, S. C.; L. C. Boyd, Indianapolis; James R. MacColl, Providence; John Joy Edson, Washington; Thomas Burke, Seattle; A. B. Farquhar, York, Pa.; and President John H. Fahey, of Massachusetts. Standing is Elliot H. Goodwin, General Secretary of the organization

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THE BREAD LINE IN NEW YORK CITY

At midnight the Knickerbocker, one of the great New York hotels, has been giving free coffee and rolls to hungry men who are walking the streets at this hour. The scene should stir every sympathetic person to helpful thought and action. This is only one of many such scenes in American cities as a result of widespread unemployment. The problem of unemployment is taxing not only the sympathies but also the intelligence of many people, and is the subject of study by governmental agencies. One effort in this direction is referred to in the caption on the next picture

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FROM AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

MEN WHO ARE TRYING TO ABOLISH THE BREAD LINE BY FINDING EMPLOYMENT FOR IDLE WORKERS

The Federal Employment Bureau, as pictured above, consists of (left to right) : Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor; Commissioner Caminetti, of the Bureau of Immigration ; and T. V. Powderly, of the Division of Information. See the article in this issue by Secretary Wilson

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J. P. MORGAN, BANKER, CAPITALIST, AND DIRECTOR OF CORPORATIONS

In answer to questions Mr. Morgan said that the responsibility for labor conditions does not rest on stockholders or directors of corporations, but upon the executive officers and the men they place in charge of the work

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MRS. MARGARET DOMINISKI AND MRS. MARY PETRUCCI, MINERS' WIVES

Both of these women were on the firing line in the Colorado labor war last year. Three of Mrs. Petrucci's children were smothered to death in an underground shelter to which they had fled during the fight

IMPORTANT WITNESSES BEFORE THE FEDERAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

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"HANDS ACROSS THE CONTINENT"

The photograph shows young men engaged in making a huge map of New York City for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition soon to be opened at San Francisco. The map will be exhibited by the city of New York as one of its contributions to San Francisco's great Fair

By extending a line horizontally to the right from the numbers at the left of the picture and vertically from the letters at the top, at the points where the vertical and horizontal lines meet the reader can distinguish the following points: (1-B) Central Park; (1-C) Queensborough Bridge; (2-C) Metropolitan Tower; (3 and 4-D) the group of sky-scrapers at the extreme lower end of Manhattan Island, and at the point Battery Park; (3-E) Manhattan and Brooklyn Bridges; (5-F) Governor's Island; (3-H) Prospect Park in the Borough of Brooklyn; (5-I) Greenwood Cemetery; (6-D) Statue of Liberty, and just beyond it, Ellis Island, the place where immigrants land; (7-A) Jersey City; (7-J) Coney Island; (8-G) a portion of Staten Island; (8-J) the forts overlooking the Narrows

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Is Yours A Dangerous Occupation?

Safety First means NO Alcohol

Safety First means NO Alcohol

EVEN MODERATE DRINKING MAKES SLOWER THINKING FOR HOURS.

What the Germans know by Experiment, Connie Mack knows by Experience He Says:

"Because Constant "Moderate" Drinking "Gets" a Ball Player just as sure as Boozing, I don't bother with Youngsters that Drink"

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT—SOME NEW METHODS OF INFLUENCING THE PUBLIC

See editorial comment on another page

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Great Britain within the war zone methods of warfare contrary to the recognized rules of international law, but she admits that she will be unable to provide for the protection of neutral commerce continuing its peaceful vocation within this area. If Germany should find some way, as did Great Britain, to pilot neutral vessels through the waters in which she proposes to have recourse to these means, neutral governments might be willing to submit to the inconvenience which this entails, so as to allow for belligerent action in as large an area as possible.

(6) *Would it be contrary to international law for the British Government to offer a reward to its merchant vessels for the sinking of an enemy submarine?*

This would not be a violation of the first rule of the Declaration of Paris, which abolished privateering, since the purpose of the reward would be the destruction of the enemy's war-ships and not merchantmen. It would, however, be contrary to international law for a belligerent merchant vessel to transform itself at will into a ship of war. The situation is somewhat comparable to that of civilians in occupied territory, who must not violate the laws of war by concealing and making use of arms whenever they see a good opportunity to cast aside their non-combatant character.

It is a perfectly legitimate act of war for a German submarine to sink British war-ships, and any attempt of a British merchant vessel to take part in hostilities would, of course, subject her to the liabilities which attach to a ship of war. That she had on board neutral passengers could not protect her, and her own Government would be responsible to the neutrals for any loss of life which might result from such an unjustifiable attempt of a vessel to take part in belligerent operations while she still claimed to be a merchantman. If a German submarine should disregard the requirement of a visit and examination of the ship's papers and torpedo merchant vessels without warning, these vessels might find it necessary in self-defense to attempt to ram or sink the German submarine. Any reward that the Government might offer as an encouragement to such action might then be defended on the ground of reprisals.

(7) *Has the United States the right to protest against the destruction by torpedoes or mines of British merchantmen in the war zone without previous visit and search?*

Aside from any question of the right to protest against Germany's action on the ground of humanity and as a violation of recognized rules of international law, this Government would have an undoubted right to protest against such action as a violation of the rights of American citizens. Even if Germany should control the application of her action so as not to endanger neutral merchantmen, the destruction of British vessels might cause the loss of American lives. Neutrals have a right to take passage on belligerent vessels. If the latter should be destroyed, it is incumbent upon the belligerent who sinks an enemy vessel to provide for the safety of all the passengers and crew. If Germany should urge that the United States did not previously protest against Great Britain's interference with neutral rights, the answer would be that the previous violation of our rights was not so flagrant. In any event, the presentation of a protest is always within the discretion of the Government. The fact that it has not done so in any particular instance can never be considered as a waiving of its right to protest later against that or any other action. Nevertheless, in the spirit of neutrality, the Government will always attempt to avoid any undue discrimination.

(8) *Are there any limits to the action which a belligerent may take by way of reprisal against his adversary?*

When one belligerent has violated a recognized rule of international law, there are many instances in which the other belligerent has had recourse to a similar violation by way of reprisal. The legitimacy of this action has been often questioned. It is one of the most difficult points of international law. There is, however, no doubt that in no case may belligerents make reprisals an excuse for violating the rights of neutral nations. During the wars of the French Revolution this country suffered greatly from reprisals at the expense of neutrals which resulted from the British Orders in Council and the Napoleonic Decrees—that of Berlin and that of Milan. There is no reason why, under the guise of reprisals, we should permit a similar disregard of our rights at the present time. Then we made a futile protest. Now we are in a better position to secure respect for our rights.

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UNCLE SAM: EMPLOYMENT AGENT

BY WILLIAM B. WILSON

UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF LABOR

LABOR—meaning by this term the great mass of those who toil for their living, from the humblest to the most skilled—may well be said to consist of two entities, both of which embrace the classifications and categories known as union or non-union, skilled or unskilled, industrial or professional or agricultural, and male or female. These entities may be broadly described as the "employed" and the "unemployed," two abstract terms by means of which the labor movement can be at once identified.

The last available statistics show that in 1900 there were 29,073,233 persons ten years of age or over engaged in gainful occupations, as follows: agricultural pursuits, 10,381,765; professional service, 1,258,538; domestic and personal service, 5,580,657; trade and transportation, 4,766,964; and mechanical and manufacturing pursuits, 7,085,309. Of these, 6,468,964, or 22.3 per cent, were unemployed at some time during the year, the period of idleness varying from one day to the rare extreme of twelve months. Only 2.5 per cent were idle from seven to twelve months. Roughly estimated, therefore, every fifth wage-earner is unemployed at some time. But, regardless of whether every fifth wage-earner in the United States (or perhaps every third now, if unemployment has increased), is without work, the fact remains that we have in this country a great number of persons without work.

The organic Act creating the Department of Labor declares that the purpose of the Department shall be to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment. In the execution of that purpose the element of fairness to every interest is of equal importance; and fairness between wage-earner and wage-earner, between wage-earner and employer, between employer and employer, and between each and the public as a whole, has been the supreme motive and purpose of our official activity.

It is evident that improving the working conditions of wage-earners means to look after that entity of the wage-earning class in this country that is already employed by endeavoring to bring about a better understanding between them and their employers, and to obtain for them all reasonable betterment, such as higher wages, shorter hours, sanitary surroundings, and opportunities for self-help. Advancing opportunities for profitable employment means not only to enable a wage-earner to obtain a promotion with a corresponding increase of salary, but also to provide profitable employment to the unemployed, to secure the most permanent work and the highest possible wages.

So far as the employed element is concerned, the Department of Labor has made great progress. In any of three ways the welfare of wage-earners could be fostered while the prosperity of employers and the peace and good order of society at large were conserved. Amicable settlements between employers and employees without mediation are manifestly first in the order of preference. Mediation comes next. Arbitration is third. But any of the three is preferable to strikes or lockouts.

But now the Department of Labor has started a real, intelligent effort to ascertain the number of wage-earners out of work and the causes of unemployment, the number that may obtain employment, and where it may be had throughout the United States. In this the Government is undertaking the task of providing employers with partners in production, the workman with information which may keep him steadily employed—a work which parallels the Government's interest in indicating to manufacturers and producers where they may find markets for the finished product.

It happens every year, and at various times during the year, that men of a given calling are idle in one locality, while workmen of that calling are needed elsewhere. This is due to two causes: lack of information among the idle wage-earners and the employers who need them, and lack of means to defray transportation expenses in getting from the place of idleness to a place of employment.

The problem was to find a simple and yet

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efficacious method of bringing this information to the attention of those who needed it—information that had to be widely advertised in conspicuous places to which everybody had access. At last a plan was formulated by means of which, with the aid of the Post-Office Department, information relating to the distribution of labor could be widely scattered and posted under the auspices of the United States Government.

The plan consists of dated bulletins sent out by the Department of Labor to postmasters throughout the country, by whom they are posted on the bulletin-boards so that every post-office patron—and this means practically every man, woman, and child—can easily refer to the information. These are known as "Bulletins of Opportunities." They are replaced with others from time to time as necessary, and suitable notice is given when they become inoperative.

This plan has received the indorsement of the various State authorities, who have been, and are, co-operating with the Department of Labor in scattering information about labor opportunities and conditions in their respective States.

For instance, on May 27 last, Charles L. Daugherty, State Labor Commissioner of Oklahoma, informed the Department of Labor of opportunities to work in that State, and the following bulletin was sent to postmasters with the request that it be posted in a conspicuous place and have public attention called to it through the press, in the hope that the needs of the farmers of Oklahoma might be supplied and idle men afforded employment:

Would it be possible for you to communicate the needs of this State by way of men for the wheat harvest through any of the official channels of the State Department? We will need from twelve to fifteen thousand men at from two to two and one-half dollars per day with board to help harvest our wheat and thresh same, and eighty-five per cent of men so employed will be given employment in this State by the farmers in handling the various forage crops, which promise a big yield at this time, thereby guaranteeing from four to six months' steady work. The State will maintain free employment offices at Oklahoma City, Enid, Alva, Woodward, Frederick, and other points in the State to help distribute the men, and any publication you can give this matter through your Department will be greatly appreciated by the citizens of this State.

On June 24 the Division of Information sent out the following notice to postmasters, requesting that they remove from their bulletin-boards the notice of May 27 and substitute it with the later bulletin:

The State officials in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri have notified this division that a sufficient number of men have proceeded to those States to meet the demands for help in the harvest fields, and South Dakota advises that many applications are being received for work in that State.

All persons are accordingly advised not to proceed to any of these States with the expectation of procuring work in the harvest fields without first communicating with and securing definite assurances of employment from one of the following officials: Director of the State Free Employment Bureau, Topeka, Kansas; State Labor Commissioner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Labor Commissioner, Jefferson City, Missouri; and Commissioner of Immigration, Pierre, South Dakota.

Later and more detailed bulletins, covering opportunities for work to couples and individuals, are a development of the same plan. One of these bulletins contains nine opportunities. In some cases transportation is advanced by the employers.

In Blue Earth County, Minnesota, one married couple was required—the man to husk corn at five cents a bushel, and all other work at seventeen and one-half cents an hour; the wife to cook and receive $4 a week, including free house, garden patch, fuel, and milk. In Frontier County, Nebraska, a man, American, English, German, Swedish, or Danish, single, was wanted for a permanent position, to pay $15 to $20 in winter and $20 to $25 in the summer, transportation being furnished.

Thousands of similar opportunities have come to the attention of the Department of Labor, with the result that every step will now be taken to acquaint the general public with them. At the present time these opportunities, and the Department's activities in that connection, are strictly limited to alien immigrants, but as soon as plans have been perfected Congress will be asked for authority and a suitable appropriation to enlarge the scope of this work so as to make it useful to citizens of the United States.

The promotion of a beneficial distribution of admitted aliens is not, as many believe, solely in the interest of the foreigners who immigrate to the United States. It would not be beneficial to this country to have any considerable number of the aliens who are admitted remain in idleness or sell their labor

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in ruinous competition with American workingmen. After the alien has landed he should not be permitted to wrong himself and others through ignorance of opportunities about which he can know nothing, but which could be made known to him on landing or afterwards, when he will be in a more receptive mood than when, anxious and worried, he is passing examination for admission.

Thousands of immigrants go at once, on being admitted, to localities where their labor is not in demand, and have to remain indefinitely awaiting employment. Often this leads to congestion in our big cities. Even if not educated in our language or their own, they are surely intelligent, and often unusually experienced workers, and it would be a reflection on that intelligence to attribute their remaining idle in one place, rather than working in another, to either choice or a previous knowledge of existing conditions. It came under the personal observation of the chief of the Division of Information that a number of aliens passing through Ellis Island were destined to a certain locality in Pennsylvania where they could not obtain employment without displacing others. These workers furnish a supply for the labor agent, the employment agent, and the *padrone* to direct later on, and it is a well-known fact that many of these agents, through collusion with corporation foremen, practically sell the same workmen over and over again for a fee of $1 or $2 a head.

In connection with this new plan of labor distribution it is pertinent to remark that it would be of great help in filling a long-needed want in behalf of not only alien but also American workers in seasonal trades, whose occupation depends upon the seasons of the year and, inferentially, on the geographical location. It would offer what may be called a vacation with pay, on the assumption that a vacation is not necessarily a period of idleness, but more a change of scene and a change of occupation.

A tailor, for instance, normally working at his trade eight or nine months in the East, could, with advantage and benefit, avail himself of an opportunity to work out of doors in the Middle West for three or four months. He would gain in health because of the change of climate and the fresh air; working with his muscles, without strain to his eyes, would rest the latter after the strain occasioned by such minute work as stitching; a change of diet from ordinary boarding-house or lunch-room food to healthy country meals would be desirable; and last, but not least, he would have no need to impair his savings. Meanwhile his absence from the city would give some one else a chance to do what extra work there might remain to be done.

These opportunities are not limited only to the single men; they are equally good for married couples. If there are children, some difficulties might be encountered, but these are details that each must study out for himself.

Unemployment, as a fact, is something with which the public is not familiar. The assertion has sometimes been made that the unemployment question in the United States is unimportant; that all desiring work in this country can obtain it, and that those who are idle, although able to work, are idle from choice.

Were it true that the unemployment of able-bodied persons is due solely or largely to laziness, the amount of unemployment would obviously remain fairly constant. Not many more persons are sick or disabled or lazy in the winter than in summer, and certainly no more in 1903 and in 1909 and in 1914 than in the intervening years.

Yet, taking the New York statistics for example, it is readily ascertainable that there are intervals of periods of high unemployment, and that they return more or less regularly. Among union workers in New York and Massachusetts two or three times as many are idle at the end of March as at the end of September each year. In September, 1905, only 4.8 per cent of all union workers in New York were reported idle. In March, 1906, the percentage was twice as great. By March, 1907, it had doubled again, and by March of the following year it had nearly doubled again. Clearly, incapacity or laziness, or both combined, do not vary to the extent thus indicated. The weather is doubtless an important factor in causing seasonal fluctuations, but cannot account for variations from year to year. Labor disputes, the New York statistics show, were a more important factor in years of low unemployment than in other years. It becomes obvious, therefore, that the great changes in the amount of unemployment are due primarily to variations in the demand for labor.

Careful study of tabulated statistics shows that the all-important cause of idleness is lack of work. The number idle from disability

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remains fairly constant, but the corresponding percentage necessarily rises with the decrease of unemployment from other causes. This brief consideration of causes of unemployment, which include lack of work, lack of stock, weather, labor disputes, disability, strikes or lockouts, other causes and reasons not stated, is sufficient to establish as fallacious the frequent assertion that all who desire work in the United States can obtain it. Even if at the best seasons of the best years industrially all who wanted work were employed, some would be out of work the next month, and many more, it is evident from the above considerations, the following year or within a very few years. Those who become unemployed would of course be less efficient, but if all were equally capable some would lose their jobs simply because industry could not use them.

The tendency of American life is away from the farm. The first object the immigrant's eyes focus on is the sky-scraper, the many-storied factory, or the coal mine. Nothing to indicate that agriculture is carried on in this country is disclosed to the immigrant, who is to become a future citizen, on landing. It is therefore necessary for us to see that immigrants, the largest percentage of whom are trained agriculturists against a very small percentage of skilled artisans, shall proceed to those localities in which agriculture and agricultural pursuits offer the best inducements and prospects. Otherwise the result will be to lose a good agriculturist and never obtain in his stead a skilled city workman.

In a consideration of agencies for the distribution of labor it must be remembered that such agencies deal with one phase, but only one phase, of the unemployment problem. If men are out of work because no work is available, such agencies are of no value. Likewise, if wage-earners are idle because they are either unwilling or unable to work, an employment office can accomplish nothing. Again, if unskilled men are idle when skilled men only are wanted, there is no place for an employment bureau. If, however, men with certain qualifications are idle at a time when employers are seeking men with those same qualifications, then an employment agency can be of service. This most obvious limitation upon the usefulness of employment bureaus is important. Much of the criticism to which these agencies, particularly free public agencies, are subjected is due to a failure to recognize the limits of their usefulness. They cannot make work and they cannot give workmen energy or ability. They can serve the public only when the condition of the labor market permits them to do so.

Within the field thus defined employment offices have a great opportunity for usefulness. An employer in need of help cannot know what particular man is idle or in want of work. The unemployed workman cannot know which one of a thousand employers needs his services. To bring these two persons together is the province of an employment agent, and, whether his office is maintained by the State or municipality, supported by a charitable society, or operated for gain, if he accomplishes his purpose expeditiously and satisfactorily he has performed a valuable service.

In the benefit accruing to both parties through the intermediation of an employment agency may be seen the justification for the commercialized agency, which charges a fee. In the effect upon the character of the workman, as well as the material benefit to him and his family, is found the argument for the philanthropic agency. And in the advantage accruing to the public through a lessening of unemployment is the justification for free public employment bureaus. In addition to these three general classes of employment agencies two others of importance may be enumerated: those maintained by large firms or by associations of employers, and those maintained by labor unions.

In the meantime the plan of gathering information as to opportunities for work in all States, whether for one person or for several thousand workers, and presenting this information to the public in general by appropriate bulletins posted on the official bulletin-boards at the post-offices, cannot fail to do good. As was noted at the beginning of this article, less than a month intervened between the time of the notice from Oklahoma requiring fifteen thousand harvest hands and the subsequent notice that the places were filled.

This is quite an improvement over past years, when farmers in the West complained late into the summer that failure to obtain the requisite number of farm-hands at harvest time always caused them heavy losses of money or grain.

It is to be hoped that Congress will see its way clear to enable the Department of Labor further to expand this employing movement, to perfect this clearing-house of labor, and,

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particularly, to enable us to adapt its usefulness to the needs of the American workingman, because there are hundreds and thousands of opportunities for betterment, for a change of location, or for higher wages for American toilers who would take advantage of the opportunity to better themselves if they only knew where to go or to whom to apply. Every vacancy created means one more place for the unemployed: and if we can devise and perfect the plan whereby we can keep aliens from congesting the cities, thus giving the city-bred folk better chances and less competition, and at the same time indicate a way to the city folk to better themselves by taking advantage of opportunities elsewhere, mutual help will thus be created for the unemployed.

THE INCOME TAX—WHEN NET LOSS MAY BE NET INCOME

BY GEORGE TUMPSON

OF THE NEW YORK BAR

MUCH has been said in the newspapers and in conversation about the income tax, of the fairness or unfairness of the exemption of $3,000 to unmarried and $4,000 to married persons, of the unreasonable annoyance and expense caused by the provisions for the withholding of the tax at the source, etc., but through all of the discussion it was generally understood that the tax was imposed on net income only. In fact, the very first sentence of the Income Tax section of the Tariff Act passed in October, 1913, provides: "There shall be levied, assessed, collected, and paid annually upon the entire *net income* arising and accruing from all sources," etc.

Now, however, after a little more than a year's application and interpretation of the law, taxpayers and "should-be" taxpayers are beginning to realize that, at least where income taxes are to be considered, net income is quite different from what they supposed. They see, through the interpretation of the law by the Treasury Department, that a net loss may be taxable as net income, and this notwithstanding the rule of law that where the meaning of a tax statute is not clear it should be construed in favor of, and not against, the taxpayer. Probably the most conspicuous example of this is in the construction of the words "*losses* actually sustained during the year, *incurred in trade*," which, among other items, may be deducted from gross income in arriving at the taxable net income.

An illustration: Suppose you were a merchant, and early last year, with surplus profits of the preceding year leaving you with some "idle" money, you made several purchases of railway stocks and bonds, and sold some of them at a profit. Now suppose that late in the year, owing to bad business on account of the war or for any other reason, you were compelled to sell the remainder of these stocks and bonds at prices leaving you with a net loss on your stock and bond dealings of $10,000; and now suppose further that because of the same bad business the normal annual net profits of $15,000 from your regular business were reduced to $5,000, leaving you at the end of the year, on account of your loss in the purchases and sales of the stocks and bonds, with a net loss of $5,000. Would you think that you had any "net income" on which a tax should or could be imposed? You answer, "Certainly not;" but you get somewhat of a jolt when the Treasury Department tells you that you must pay a tax on the $5,000 of net profit from your regular business because your loss on the stocks and bonds was not incurred "in trade." In surprise you ask the Department what "trade" means, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue answers that "trade is synonymous with business" (Treasury decisions No. 1989—June 2, 1914), and then you are even more surprised, because you never thought of the buying and selling of stocks and bonds as being anything other than "business," notwithstanding that it is sometimes considered "bad business" for a merchant to buy and sell stocks and bonds,

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but "business" nevertheless. So here you have a typical case, and a not unusual one, of net loss being taxable as "net income." The same ruling would apply if the merchant were a hardware dealer and took advantage of what he thought was an opportunity to buy a large quantity of flour very cheap but on which he lost $10,000 through a drop in price.

Many persons who sustained losses during 1913 and in making their tax returns for that year deducted them from gross income are now receiving requests from the collectors of internal revenue for detailed explanation of their losses, and are much surprised and annoyed to learn that these will not be allowed as deductions because not "incurred in trade." And yet if these same stocks and bonds or the flour had been sold at a profit of $10,000, instead of at a loss (taking the case above instanced), the income tax would have to be paid on the profit, for the law says that the tax must be paid on net income "from all sources." You say that if the law is so interpreted the Government is playing a game of "heads I win, tails you lose," and from the Commissioner's interpretation (until reversed by the courts) that is exactly what the Government is doing.

There have been few laws whose application and interpretation have been of such widespread interest as the Income Tax Law. Just what are "losses incurred in trade" will no doubt continue to be a troublesome question until the law is amended so that losses of individuals will be allowed the same as the losses of corporations subject to the income tax, viz., losses actually sustained within the year and without any limitation that they must be sustained in trade or in the particular business for which the corporation was organized.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the decision above mentioned goes on to explain that "business" has been defined as—

> That which occupies and engages the time, attention, and labor of any one for the purpose of livelihood, *profit*, or improvement; *that which is his personal concern or interest; employment*, regular occupation, but *it is not necessary that it should be his sole occupation* or employment.

Note that "it is not necessary that it should be his sole occupation or employment," and yet what the merchant in the above illustration did was not "business." The Commissioner also holds in the same decision that "the doing of a *single* act incidentally or of necessity not pertaining to the *particular* business of the person doing the same will not be considered engaging in or carrying on the business." But the taxpayer is now even more perplexed because he learns that the words "single act" may and do mean several or many acts. The term "particular business" was not mentioned in the law nor even suggested, and certainly does not seem to be consistent with the above definition of "business."

The meaning of the words "in trade" is of vital importance to many business men who frequently have funds not required in their regular business, *i. e.*, what they call "idle money," and with which they buy and sell securities, wheat, cotton, etc., as the market seems favorable. They cannot be said to make a regular or particular business of such buying and selling, for they do it only when circumstances make it convenient or desirable. But if what these men do is not "business," what is it? In explaining when these particular losses may be allowed (losses in buying and selling, securities, etc.) the Treasury Department seems to have made a very inconsistent and unreasonable ruling or decision when in Treasury Decision No. 2090 of December 17, 1914, it said: "As to losses on stocks, grain, cotton, etc., if these are incurred by a person engaged in trade to which the buying or selling of stocks, etc., is incident as a part of the business, *as by a member of a stock, grain, or cotton exchange*, such losses may be deducted," yet the business of a member of such an exchange is generally that of acting as agent or broker for others, and the losses through his trading are not his losses, but the losses of others. The man who buys and sells stocks, cotton, grain, etc., must do it through a member of an exchange, and the fact that he is not a member should not in reason prevent his dealings from being "business," and losses sustained through such dealings should be allowed as deductions. The Department properly holds that a mere fall in market value without an actual sale should not be considered as a loss; but it does not seem right nor reasonable that losses actually sustained through closed and completed transactions should be disallowed as deductions, thereby taxing net income when there is actually a net loss.

This point of deductible losses will no doubt shortly come before the courts for judicial determination, and, until a final ruling by the

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courts, it would seem the better policy for taxpayers, in making their returns, to claim all losses actually sustained and ascertained by completed transactions, and, when they are disallowed, then to pay the tax under protest.

A very clear instance of a Treasury Department regulation not in accord with the law, and therefore not controlling, is found in Regulations No. 33 of January 5, 1914. This is a summary and compilation (127 pages, containing 199 articles, indexed; it may be obtained from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Washington, D. C., for the asking) of the regulations previously made and also of many which were at that time handed down.

Article VI, on page 31 of these regulations, is headed, "Deductions and exemptions allowed in computing taxable income. Under paragraph B the following items are to be deducted from gross income." Then follow eight items, the second of which is, "All interest paid within the year on personal indebtedness of the taxpayer *incurred in the conduct of business.*"

The paragraph B above refers to paragraph B of the Act of Congress enacting the Income Tax Law, and provides "that, in computing net income for the purpose of the normal tax, there shall be allowed as deductions, first, . . .; second, all interest paid within the year by a taxable person on indebtedness." There is no attempt to limit or qualify the indebtedness, as is the case with losses. Nor does the new blank form furnished by the Government and now to be used for return of net income make any reference to any limitation or the kind of indebtedness the interest on which may be deducted, and there is no doubt that taxpayers may deduct interest paid on all personal indebtedness, without regard to whether or not the indebtedness was "incurred in the conduct of business."

THE AMERICAN COMPOSER

BY ARTHUR WHITING

It is the good fortune of The Outlook to be able to print in close succession two articles by American composers on the conditions of the art of music in America.

Last week we printed an article on "The American Musician" by Daniel Gregory Mason, Assistant Professor of Music at Columbia University, composer of distinction, and writer of insight on musical subjects. Here we print another article on the same theme.

Mr. Whiting's compositions illustrate his own principles. It was only recently that The Outlook commented on his Fantasy for pianoforte and orchestra on the occasion of its performance at the annual joint meeting of the American Academy and National Institute of Arts and Letters. The rhythmic character of this fine composition is a happy exemplification of what Mr. Whiting, in this article, says must be the characteristic trait of American music. It was at another session of this same meeting of the National Institute—of which Mr. Whiting is a member—that he read from manuscript the article that is here printed.

We referred last week to Mr. Whiting's lecture-recitals before college audiences. These form only a part of the educative service in music which Mr. Whiting has rendered and is rendering.

The privilege of printing these two articles is one which The Outlook appreciates. It is not often that the creative gift in art is combined with critical ability, as it is in an unusual degree in both Mr. Mason and Mr. Whiting.—THE EDITORS.

COMPOSITIONS of music by academically trained Americans have been submitted to the judgment of the public for the past forty years. The verdict on the merits of the works returned by the popular jury is not unanimous, but is given in every degree of appreciation, influenced by every degree of prejudice from chauvinism to anti-Americanism.

Intelligent optimists discover signs of char-

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acter in the compositions which, if sporadic, promise for the near future a National style.

Intelligent pessimists see in them nothing but the music mannerisms of all nations, sedulously collected and stamped "Yankee."

Unintelligent optimists shout that, being American, they must be good.

Unintelligent pessimists jeer that, being American, they must be bad.

This article is an inquiry into the relation of the American composer to contemporary art. It is an attempt to give the findings and conclusions of critics who know that if they over-praise they belittle and dishonor, but that if, on the other hand, they do not give just due, they retard and dishearten a movement for which they feel the deepest concern; a movement by which native music may worthily stand beside American literature and painting. As a preliminary to this inquiry, let us dismiss from the council the unintelligent shouters and jeerers. Let all professional agitators and advocates, and all editors who preach that a protective policy will advance American art, be invited to retire.

Great music is national, expressing the temper and character of a nation. The most homogeneous people have produced the most characteristic art. The music of Germany is pure German; the music of Italy is the very essence of Italian minds; and even the most experimental and venturesome French composer never leaves Paris. The alleged absence of idiom in the language of the American composer is attributed by some to the fact that the national character of the citizens of these United States of America is not yet fixed; that it will acquire distinction of feature only after the many elements of race within these borders have been fused.

Whatever the American composers of the future may be, those of the present, whom we are now discussing, are of British stock by a very large majority. While they are now living and producing in all parts of the country, they or their parents were bred near the eastern shore of the United States. The English-speaking native, who has dominated the continent for three centuries, is still a pure type, and his musical descendant has grown up under homogeneous conditions and influences.

The American of to-day is unique. He has his own face, his own way of doing and of feeling things. If his emotions have as yet no complete musical representation, it is not because they cannot be represented in tones, for we have one song at least—our beloved "Dixie"—which throbs exactly with the National pulse, and which is of such sterling worth that it has survived fifty years of hard usage and is to-day as thrilling and impelling as when it led the tired marchers of the Potomac.

The official and ceremonial hymn of a country is usually perfunctory and philistine. It is pious custom more than spontaneous feeling which brings us to our feet when we sing that commonplace tune which we borrowed from England which she borrowed from Germany, the words of which we vaguely remember to begin—

"God save our 'tis of thee."

I speak thus disrespectfully of our National anthem because it is not our National anthem; it is not a musical representation of our National feeling or experience. As to the verses, I leave them to any American conscience.

If many of the accredited hymns of nations are characterless, there are at least three popular songs which are, in a real sense, national. The "Rákoćzy March" of Hungary, the "Marseillaise" of France, and "Dixie" of America are intoxicants which stimulate the nerves of their respective races, so that the first two have often been forbidden by the police in times of special excitement. But there is nothing warlike or vengeful in our own song; it has good-natured energy, a certain confident strength; its saucy gait has humor; it is not theatrical, self-conscious, or sentimental—it is American character.

The skeptic asks, "Is there any formal music by native American composers which is not more or less a blend of German, French, and Scandinavian styles?" Such a searching question must be answered in perfect honesty, after a careful review of the works available for criticism.

I confess to remembering that in the American compositions of twenty-five years ago—overtures, symphonies, poems (symphonic and otherwise), chamber and choral music—that whilom guarantee of quality, that orthodox water-mark "Made in Germany," was impressed on too many pages of the score.

I confess to remembering that at that period some composers of lighter works smuggled Scandinavian rhythms and harmonies across our frontier, naturalizing them

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by the simple device of changing the title-page.

I must acknowledge also that in recent years, while recognizing the steadfastness of those few belated minds whose reconciliation to Brahms has become so complete that they have adopted his style for their own, too many of our composers, unabashed, have exchanged their former German for a French manner, thereby inviting the consideration which we give to the versatile chameleon. All this is damaging evidence, but it condemns those whose talents are so superficial that they would be chameleons in any country.

Now that the witnesses for the prosecution have been heard, we can call on many to testify for the defense. We are proud to be able to say that we have men who have produced music with a flavor of its own—composers whose European education has but intensified and confirmed their natural qualities. That peculiar energy which marks the tune of "Dixie" is native to them—an energy which is not out of place in large and dignified form. One hears from them a turn of phrase, a lilt and catch, which can be stamped "Made in America" without mental reservations.

Given a nation of nervous temperaments, it follows that the principal characteristic of its composers shall be rhythm, the most important and at present the most neglected element of music. The European world since Wagner has become so obsessed by the idea of harmonic possibilities and refined tone-color that many craftsmen are now employed exclusively in the splitting of harmonic hairs. Under this treatment the texture of music is fast losing its substance and the tonal spectrum is merging into monochrome.

This evolution at the expense of the great complement, rhythm, is a one-sidedness which the strong-beating pulse of America may help to correct, in some degree, if her composers use their natural power. Indeed, that popular syncopation now fallen into such low company that it answers to the name of "ragtime" is a legitimate contribution to the art of music—an invention of our own which has been eagerly accepted by Europe as something new.

The influences which have been potent in forming the character of our native music are, first, Negro melodic idiom, and, second, Celtic and English national songs.

The Negro influence has been one of propinquity. The African slave is a singer whose life of suffering and hardship has brought to the surface all his powers of expression. A humble member of the National family from the beginning, his songs of pathos and glorification have made a deep impression on every music-loving child, who, on becoming later a trained musician, finds his own speech somewhat akin to that of his old friend.

The Celtic and English influence is that of blood—an inheritance which is felt in the music of our most characteristic writers.

There has been much to-do recently over the alleged neglect of our composers by the public and by those high in authority. It is said that talent languishes for lack of recognition, and that therefore the country should organize to the end that no genius remain undiscovered. This cry has been raised principally by professional agitators, and has been so persistent that many earnest and patriotic people now reproach themselves that they find more interest in current European music than in that of their own countrymen, and determine that hereafter they will remember the assurance of the editor that the domestic is quite as good as the imported article.

An enemy could hardly devise anything more humiliating to artists than this, or put the American composer in a more unhappy relation to his public. No one can rebuke so effectively these foolish friends of American art as the self-respecting composers themselves, and the blame rests with them that this grotesque movement has not been suppressed.

In fact, the American composer has not been always fortunate in his friends. Many real friends have hesitated to act as such and to be helped by unsparing comment in fear of the charge of National disloyalty, a fear which will restrain almost any well-meaning critic. The healthful growth of our music has been retarded, standards have been misplaced, weak men have been given praise which should have been reserved for strong men, and all because certain irresponsible people have the power, by simply uttering two words, "unpatriotic" and "disloyal," to silence needful, strengthening, in the highest sense friendly, criticism.

As to any adverse predisposition on the part of the public, there is no instinctive prejudice against the American poet, painter, sculptor, or architect; there is no such prejudice against the brother artist in music when

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his work is as good as theirs. For any acquired antipathy that may be in the public mind at present the composers themselves are to blame.

It is said that our conductors and public often prefer the works of second-rate European composers to works of equal musical merit by our own men. No doubt there is such preference at times, and it is not difficult to find the reason. The material of the American compositions may be quite as good as that of the foreigner; but when it happens that the technical treatment is inferior, that the material is not handled with the same skill, conductors, who are not chauvinists, will take the better workmanship, other things being equal, and the public will applaud them for so doing.

There is a harmful tradition in this country that the free-born American artist is exempt from that servile apprenticeship to the technique of composition and instrumentation which the European student accepts without a thought of protest. The conviction that a Yankee can do anything he sets his mind to is a survival of the spirit of pioneer days, when the woodsman's family would suffer or die but for his ready and complete resourcefulness. He was obliged to surmount difficulties without training or experience, and we are proud of his makeshifts and homely ingenuities.

But makeshifts are inadequate to the requirements of modern art, and any young man who tries to dodge the grind which only can make him master of his craft will confess when he reaches the age of fifty that they were blameless who rejected his talent in the rough for the highly polished work of his European or wiser American rival. Students will find men in this country who are models of preparedness—men who were far-seeing in their youth, who, feeling that they had something to express, labored unceasingly to express it like artists.

Such, indeed, are the best of our American composers whose music has received cordial, if not always quick, recognition. They have been garlanded and honored; so much so that some of them have suffered from the solicitations of an eager and hero-worshiping public.

There are many music laymen among us who wish to be helpful in the cause of native production, but who are uncertain what their relation to the young composer should be.

Question: Who are the friends of an artist?

There can be but one answer, which is: Those who love art more than they love the artist.

This dictum and what is now to follow will be recognized as that wholesome but unpalatable draught, the counsel of perfection. It should be reasonably diluted before being taken; otherwise it will make one's eyes water.

These truth-loving friends, then, wish to be of service to American music through their influence on the work of the young composer. To this end they put him and his metal to tests. Will he bend or will he break under them? Instead of "encouraging" talent—an unhappy expression in connection with what is nothing if it be not spontaneous—they subject him to that trial, that cruel experience for the young enthusiast, namely, temporary neglect. If they find him, after years, still making music to no audience, they can be sure that he loves music more than he loves an audience, and score him one for disinterestedness.

Then there is the quality of his production. Is it the plausible manuscript which any accomplished musician can make as the result of his study and professional experience—music which has every appearance and every feature of life, but which is, after all, only a lay figure? Is the work of the young probationer characteristic, idiomatic, national? And, finally, is it prophetic, daring, lawless, reckless, to startle the ladies of both sexes?

If the friends (it will be noted that they are extremely intelligent) find these qualities in addition to disinterestedness, they may safely and confidently raise their hats, for they are in the presence of genius. Having found him, what shall they do with him? Their responsibilities are quite overwhelming. What is their duty to art, regardless of human feelings? Shall they announce him to the world at once?

In these times and in this country a discovered genius is an artist heavily handicapped; a worker loaded with responsibilities from which in obscurity he was free. Unless he has a character of iron the public will undo him. Therefore let the announcement be deferred until the precious manuscripts make a goodly pile. Do not advise him, but give him all opportunity for experiment and shield him from the public unto that day when he is firm on his feet; then he will do the rest.

What is the counsel of perfection to the

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friends in their relation to lesser talents; to those whose music is silent when there is none to listen; who bend until they break under neglect; whose work is reminiscent, law-abiding, pronounced sane by professional critics?

We know what nature does to animals which lack the boisterousness of youth; we know that she resists any artificial means to strengthen and prolong the life of the congenitally weak. But whether it be for the good of art that only the best survive may be left to the judgment of the friends.

However, the composing of music as education—not as contribution to art demanding public attention—is indispensable to every complete musician. There are hidden and unsuspected wonders in the works of the masters which can be discovered only by the student of composition. Such modest work sometimes rewards the doer unexpectedly by the discovery of a vein of originality in his expression. In other words, the Cinderella of the study may unconsciously possess the foot for the slipper.

The question comes up, How can a young composer hear and judge the effect of his music when conductors and the public ignore him?

One of the phases of ingenuous youth which appeals to grown-up sympathy is the young painter's demand for the largest canvas, the young sculptor's call for the hugest block of marble, the young musician's helplessness without the service of an augmented orchestra. In the midst of such proportions one hesitates to suggest less expensive means of demonstration, to say that it takes fewer instruments to prove one's self a genius or a fool, or any modification of these extremes.

That ever-present help, the domesticated pianoforte, was alone sufficient for Chopin's superlative art. One voice added to it was all that Loewe required to state his case. Such every-day material and simple combinations of string and wind instruments are always available, and the youth who says something notable with them will find orchestral conductors the following morning calling at his door.

If the office of the friends is to discover genius and to prevent others from doing the same, if the wisdom of encouraging mediocrity is questioned, what active business is at hand for them?

A task awaits them which, employing their full strength, will not be finished for many generations—perhaps centuries; that is, preparing the ground in which musical genius will grow, spreading the influence of good art, fertilizing the soil with general knowledge and love of beauty.

No doubt such methods will strike the Western mind as somewhat vague and up in the air, and the fruition so deferred that practical men will look over and under and through the situation for some short cut by which genius may be delivered within a reasonable time after the order has been placed. But we should not for a moment believe that this is a field for up-to-date promoting schemes. There is only one way to produce genius, and that is the way it has been done in Europe from the beginning.

Johann Sebastian Bach, the supreme music product of the world, was the result of a thousand influences, operating for centuries. The work of thousands of minor composers before him had to die and rot and be ground into a compost before the soil should be rich enough to grow that glory of German art.

Bach did not happen because the Ladies' Monday Musical of Eisenach joined with the Chromatic Club of Weimar and the G Clefs of Cöthen in passing resolutions, first, that compositions of native composers should be heard with more interest; and, second, that these societies hereby pledge themselves to prefer the domestic output to the imported Italian product; and, third, that they hereby censure that snobbishness which believes in the superiority of foreign music.

Bach was not encouraged to use his powers and to become conscious of what was really in him because of the stimulus to art given by the Leipsic Choral Union, which offered a prize of a thousand gulden for the most inspired setting of the St. Matthew Passion, stirring composers for miles around (who needed that sum of money) to produce the kind of originality which they believed to be likely to pique the fancy of the particular gentlemen who had kindly consented to act as judges for the competition.

The editor of that esteemed weekly (with trade supplement) "Musical Germany" did not call with clarion voice that teachers should stand shoulder to shoulder against foreign pretentiousness.

In other words, we should hardly consider the science of organization in the musical affairs of those times to be a science at all. And yet their primitive methods were rewarded, and those conditions which had

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existed for generations finally produced the flower.

The American composer has been at his art for forty years. It may be said that conditions did not produce him, for there were no conditions. When we look at the very thin soil out of which our native music has so recently sprung, land which has never known plow or fertilizer, we wonder, not at the many weeds, but that flowers of real beauty should be found here and there. These scattered specimens are pledges of the garden of the future.

And now, music laymen of the country who want to help the American composer, apply your energies to enriching the musical life of the Nation; give every child the best music; advise students to compose, not to see how great their own powers are, but to measure and venerate true greatness. Take long views; do everything by years, and not by days. Then, when future generations have continued the labor of love you began, the American composer, expressing in music the very spirit of America, may be acclaimed by his happy countrymen.

THE READER'S VIEW

FOR A NATION-WIDE PROTEST

I am much impressed by the editorial in the issue of February 3 on "America's Duty and the Rules of War." You ask, "Has, then, all chance of setting ourselves right been lost?" and answer, "We are convinced that it has not. The true beliefs and interests of the American people can still be voiced." And this introduces my inquiry of you. Why may not a propaganda be at once started in the leading cities or towns of the land and in university centers, accompanied by memorials to the Government at Washington, insisting that the voice of the American people in favor of "the maintenance of the whole spirit and purpose of the rules of civilized warfare" be expressed in official communications to the warring nations? And if regret, or, better, protest, is also uttered against any violations of the Hague Convention already evidenced—as in the case of Belgium—so much the better.

Even if official Washington made no official response, the voice of many representative American citizens would thus find its unofficial and not useless, as we think, emphatic expression. Is not this practicable? And permit the expression of a personal wish that, if possible—and is it not?—our two living ex-Presidents head such a National movement. Apart from this, what of the suggestion?

(Rev.) F. N. GREELEY.

Washington, District of Columbia.

AMERICA'S DUTY AND THE RULES OF WAR

I have read with profound admiration your article on the above. It is based upon the eternal principles of justice and righteousness, and it is a timely admonition to the present Administration for its obvious dereliction from the narrow path of duty.

But I must venture to criticise your remarks about the feeling of England during the Civil War, as expressed in the following sentences:

"On the one side were the forces of the North fighting against slavery and for 'liberty and union.' On the other side were forces which, though engaged in the defense of the institution of slavery, were supported by the faith of people who believed that in the right of secession were bound up their own liberties. And what did we of the North and of the South see in the English nation? Apparently only an interest in cotton."

In the last sentence the qualifying adverb "apparently" is entirely appropriate, for, in my view, the "apparent" was not the "real" sentiment of the nation.

You may be right in your strictures on the Government, but it must be remembered that the English Government represents at best only a majority of the nation, and at times not even that.

To attribute, therefore, to the people at large the action and the opinion of the Government is not just.

In the Civil War the English people were divided in their sympathies, but a very large section favored the South, sharing the belief, which you admit actuated the South, that they were fighting for the preservation of their liberties, while the institution of slavery was merely an incident, to be dealt with later and gradually suppressed.

Moreover, seeing that the South was being attacked by an overwhelming force, the sympathies of many were, then as now, in favor of the "under dog."

At the time of the Civil War I was a schoolboy living at York. That ancient city was not a manufacturing center, nor had it any special interest in cotton.

At my school the war was a constant subject

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of discussion, being a matter of exciting interest, and the feeling displayed preponderated strongly for the South for the reasons above stated.

The opinion of school-boys would not of course *per se* be of any value; but it is not to be supposed that it differed in any essential degree from that of their elders; rather would it be merely a reflection of the latter.

Also York was a city typical of many others that had souls above cotton, if for no other reason than that they did not manufacture it; and therefore Southern sympathies, to that extent at least, might justly be attributed to the same high motives.

The mission of Henry Ward Beecher, to which you allude, was, if I remember rightly, almost wholly confined to the manufacturing towns. And there, I must sadly confess, "cotton was king," and the love of money, if not indeed actual need—human nature being then the same as now—would probably obscure the judgment in deciding between right and wrong.

A residence of more than twenty-five years in Virginia may have tinctured my views, but, subject to that qualification, after the lapse of time and after much reading and meditation, I still hold to my boyhood opinion that the principle animating the South during the war was not the support of slavery, but the belief, rightly or wrongly held, that they were defending their inalienable rights of liberty.

I am aware that the tenor of your article is a comparison of the action of the English Government then with that of the American Government now rather than a comparison of the feeling of the two nations respectively.

Nevertheless, I think that this letter is justifiable, for the North is still too prone to attribute English sympathy with the South to commercial or other unworthy motives, rather than to those higher principles which, in my opinion, were their real base.

R. W. MacKreth.

Ivy, Virginia.

MR. OSBORNE AND MR. GEORGE

In the excellent article which recently appeared in The Outlook on the splendid efforts of Thomas Mott Osborne to introduce right principles into Sing Sing Prison, and in other comments upon his present work in your pages, barely a mention has been made of the great opportunity which Mr. Osborne now has, and of which he is taking full advantage, to apply to a new and vital field the self-government principles with which he became so familiar during his fifteen years as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the George Junior Republic at Freeville, New York.

In his introduction to "The Junior Republic," by William R. George, which was published in 1909, Mr. Osborne says: "Then Mr. George opened my mind to the possibility of the same principles [the self-governing principles of the George Junior Republic] being used as a basis for an intelligent and *reforming* prison system—a system which should be social sanitary drainage—not merely a moral cesspool. At first I laughed at the idea; then I saw the truth."

I am sure it should be of interest to your readers to know that the "truth" with which Mr. Osborne is now permeating that citadel of ignorance, Sing Sing Prison, was discovered to him over fifteen years ago by William R. George, of the George Junior Republics. Mr. Osborne has even established among the prisoners a court for the trial of their own offenses modeled upon the court of the Junior Republic at Freeville.

I think it is important that the public should realize that the ideas which Mr. Osborne is seeking to apply at Sing Sing are not new, original, or untried, but that they have for twenty years been in successful operation in the little republic at Freeville, which Mr. Osborne himself has so aptly called "a laboratory experiment in democracy."

Lyman Beecher Stowe.

Forest Hills Gardens,
Long Island, New York.

SELECTING SCHOOL-BOOKS

Can Utah put the Book of Mormon in her schools? Can Maryland place the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in her schoolrooms? Can New Jersey require the study of the Presbyterian Catechism by her public school scholars?

No. Why? Because their people will none of it.

But if the people of Massachusetts are a unit in desiring that Eliot's "New Religion" shall be taught in Massachusetts public schools, can they require it? Is there any power outside the State to say "No"?

The Constitution of the United States says (Article VI, Section 3) that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and, in Article I of amendments, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

What bearing, if any, do these or other National Constitutional statements have upon the *power* of a State as to selecting schoolbooks?

Suggestions have been made as follows:

(*a*) The Holy Bible in each of the renderings known as Douai, King James, and American Standard shall be provided by the State and kept in each study room of the State's public schools.

(*b*) The use of the Holy Bible in these render-

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ing's shall not be less free than the use of a dictionary kept for reference.

(*c*) Each school-day not less than five verses from some one of these renderings of the Holy Bible shall be read aloud before the scholars, without comment, in each study room of the State's public schools.

(*d*) This reading shall be either by the teacher or others whom the teacher may request to read.

(*e*) No teacher and no scholar shall be compelled to read in a particular rendering to which that teacher or scholar has particular objection.

(*f*) A school-teacher whose duty it shall be to read or cause to be read the Holy Bible as herein provided who shall refuse, fail, or omit to do so shall, upon charges being preferred and proof offered, be dismissed from teaching. And upon second conviction his (or her) certificate shall be revoked by the State Superintendent of Education.

(*g*) Union superintendents, city or town superintendents, as the case may be, are especially charged with enforcement.

A movement is on foot to require the reading of the Holy Bible in Vermont public schools.

Are the suggestions above fair? If enacted in law, what would be the result after the novelty was past? C. J. R.

JEFFERSON THE NATURALIST

In your issue of December 23 you said that President Osborn, of the American Museum of Natural History, "rightly called the attention of the audience to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt was the first President of the United States who had taken any active and effective interest in natural history as a scientific pursuit." Both you and Mr. Osborn seem to have forgotten that William Cullen Bryant in his youthful poem "The Embargo" derided President Jefferson for that very thing. He wrote:

> "Go, wretch, resign the Presidential chair,
> Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair.
> Go search with curious eyes for horrid frogs
> 'Mid the wild wastes of Louisianian bogs;
> Or where Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
> Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

FREDERICK J. SHEPARD.

Buffalo, New York.

WHICH COMES FIRST?

Mrs. Childe's thoughtful article on teaching concentration is strongly confirmed by my experience with my three children. She makes one point, however, which she did not emphasize, and which goes far to answer the question as to where the damage is done to the keen, eager interest with which children enter school. There is a pathetic waste, for which our school system is criminally responsible, between the insatiable yearning to know in the child when he first comes under its direction and the indifference he has for his work a few years later, even when he conscientiously does it. Mrs. Childe gives two lists: her child, at three, wanted to know about zoölogy, physics, chemistry, botany, physiology, astronomy, geography, and history. So did mine, and, I could add, entomology, anatomy, and geology. The second list contains what the child is expected to learn in the grades: reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar. Geography only appears on both. The latter list was decided upon in the dark ages of pedagogy, and, being sheep, mankind has gone on, unwisely demanding that the little ones shall study what they have no interest in. The first list contains the studies the grade student does want to know about and which his mind is fitted to grasp. The former list would develop faculties of attention, memory, and research, hold his interest, enlarge his knowledge and mental capacity. The latter list calls for memorizing, reasoning powers, and manual dexterity, which are faculties of a later period. The first list gives concrete objects to work with, things that are familiar, which the child can see, handle, and understand. The second list uses abstractions, symbols, and rules, which the child neither understands nor knows how to apply.

Moreover, the studies on the former list are taught when the interest has been destroyed and the mind craves stronger food. When the teacher and the parent (who must support the reforms of the teacher) become as wise as the child and learn from it to supply the food its mind is fitted by nature to assimilate, we shall have concentration, strength, and efficiency as results of education, instead of faculties badly damaged or destroyed. A. B. C.

"YOU-ALL"

In The Outlook of January 13 I note a statement by "J. M. G." concerning the expression "you-all," used so commonly by people in the South. Here is my experience in associating intimately for the past eight years with ministers, elders, bishops, doctors, and teachers. The expression is in common use among all classes in three Southern States in which I was used to meeting people.

My own physician used it very much as did the one referred to by "J. M. G.;" thus, he would say, "You-all take this powder at bedtime," speaking to me only, and referring to no one else. I became so accustomed to the expression and I used it in jest so much that I hardly notice it any more. But I was surprised that any one doubted its use in referring to a single individual. L. M.

Oklahoma.

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BY THE WAY

"I had a curious correspondence recently with a woman whom I had asked to help a boy in our school," writes a friend of The Outlook who is conducting an industrial school for poor white boys in the South. "She wrote me that she would help the boy, who had worked for years in a cotton-mill but who dreamed of better things, with a scholarship ($50), and sent her check, but *I must give up The Outlook*. . . . I returned her check." The philanthropist in question, it seems, objected to The Outlook's attitude on certain subjects. We are glad to add that this boy is to receive his scholarship from another source, and we trust that his educational training, of which the original donor would have deprived him, will enable him to form his opinions for himself.

At a moving-picture show in an important railway division terminal in Pennsylvania the following announcement was, so a railway journal says, thrown on the screen at the end of a film drama:

James Brown, Thomas Jones, William White and John Black boarded for 10 P. M.

The men named were members of a freight train crew, and this placard, shown by arrangement with the division superintendent, called them from pleasure to duty; it being understood that they were to amuse themselves until their call appeared in this way.

The trick mule and the bucking bronco are outdone by the "bucking bull." "Travel" prints pictures of "Sharkey," a famous bucking bull, throwing off three would-be riders in quick succession. A prize of $100 was offered to any cowboy who could stay on Sharkey for ten seconds in the round-up last fall at Pendleton, Oregon. One rider succeeded in winning a world's championship by staying on the bull's back for twelve seconds.

The Tuchhaus, or cloth hall, of Cracow, the ancient Polish capital, somewhat resembles Faneuil Hall. The Tuchhaus, which has stood for six centuries, has, like its Boston counterpart, a market on its lower floor and a picture gallery above. The gallery, however, contains many pictures besides those of patriots, for it is the home of Polish national art, containing among other celebrated paintings "The Living Torches of Nero."

The article "The Silent Pilots" in The Outlook of January 27 stated that Captain S. W. Dewey sawed off the figurehead of Andrew Jackson from the war-ship Constitution in 1834. A subscriber writes that this figurehead was in the possession of his father, Charles Wetherill, of Philadelphia, for some time after the exploit. Before it was removed a plaster cast was made of it, which his family still has. This cast shows that the valiant Captain missed his mark in the darkness and cut off only part of the head, the saw starting in the mouth instead of at the neck.

The States which have the best record as to the literacy of children between 10 and 14 are these: Connecticut, District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, Utah, and Washington. In these States only 1 child out of 1,000 is unable to read or write. But from the standpoint of proportional reduction of illiteracy Oklahoma leads the Union. In 1900 it had 124 illiterate children to the 1,000; in 1910 it had reduced this number to 17.

In the eighties of the last century Charles M. Hall, while a student at Oberlin College, discovered the process of extracting aluminum from clay. After leaving Oberlin he perfected the process, formed a company, and at the time of his death, last December, is said to have practically controlled the aluminum manufacture in this country. By his will he left some $3,000,000 to his Alma Mater. This bequest, it is thought, will make Oberlin the wealthiest college in the world—not considering the universities.

An Anglican clergyman who was pleading for free seats in the churches used this experience as an argument, according to "Christian Life:" "When I was a curate, the holder of a large old-fashioned pew in our church once complained of the intrusion of a stranger on the previous Sunday. He added, 'Sir, I would not dare to disturb divine worship by pushing him out of my pew, but I took the slight liberty of sitting on his hat.' The appropriation of pews had made the holder think them a kind of property."

"One of the pleasantest experiences of my life," says H. L. Bullen in the "American Bulletin," "was that of setting types in a printing office in Camden, New Jersey, in the same alley in which Walt Whitman, the poet, was setting some of his verses." This was after Whitman had become famous, but he "was a printer, and he preferred to see his verses in type in the form of proofs before submitting them to publishers." On one occasion when Whitman intrusted his MS. to a compositor, it will be remembered, the "good gray poet" was much annoyed because the poem "Good-bye, my Fancy," was so printed. Whitman promptly struck out the comma after "Good-bye."

A picture of a street scene in Venice, published in The Outlook of January 27, was, by a mistake of the American Press Association, from which the photograph was obtained, entitled "In the Streets of Avezzano." While Italian peasants may not differ greatly in appearance, the error is none the less regrettable, and special diligence will be exercised in preventing the recurrence of such mistakes.

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